M.V. Gucht Sculp I. Taverner. Pinx.

Daniel De Toe Author of the Fruedown Englishman

M.V. Gucht Sculp I. Taverner. Pinx.

Daniel De Toe Author of the Fruedown Englishman

ATRUE

COLLECTION

OFTHE

WRITINGS

OFTHE

AUTHOR

OF THE

True Born English-man

The Second Edition Corrected and Enlarg'd by bimself.

LONDON:

Printed, and are to be Sold by most Booksellers in London and Westminster. MDCCV.

N B. There being a pretended Collection, of some of these Tracts, published under the same Name, 'tis thought sit to give Notice, that there are several things inserted in the said Book, which were not his, and those that are, being full of Errors, O-missions and Mistakes, which in many Places invert the Sense and Design of the Author; This Coslection has been Corrected, and contains above double the number of Tracts that were Printed in the said sham Collection, as is more at large expressed in the Presace.

THE

PREFACE

To the whole.

Value of my own Performances, nor from the Fondness of appearing in Print, having so lately and so unjustly suffered for it, that I have consented to this Publication.

But 'tis owing to a certain Printer, who had forg'd a surruptitious Collection of several Tracks; in which he had the Face to put several I hings which I had no Hand in, and vilely to dismember and mangle those I had; giving the Whole a Title of Collection of my Writings; and his Publisher, of the same Kidney, to put my Name to it, and all this to get a Penny, at the price of exposing me and the Book in a most uncivil, as well as dishonest manner.

I have consented therefore to this Publication, in order to do my self Justice to the World, and that I may not be imposed upon, nor the World abused, by a spurious Collection of what I have no Legitimate Claim to, and an erroneous Copy of what I have.

Before I resolv'd on this Course, I set about Correcting the Mistakes of the Book they have Publish'd, till I came to above Three hundred Errors; and then being weary of Amendment, I resolv'd to disabuse the World with a Corrected Copy.

Nor is this all the Injury done me, by this Piratical Printer, as such are very rightly called, who unjustly Print other Mens Copies; but I think 'tis a most unaccountable piece of Boldness in him, to Print that particular Book call'd, The shortest Way with the Dissenters, while I lay under the publick Resentment for the same Fact. And though the Government, indeed, may punish one Criminal and let another go free; yet, it seems a little hard, That I should suffer for Printing a Book, and another Print it in the Face of the Government to get Money by it.

I have no Reason to be glad, tho' it is too true, I am a large Sufferer for writing that Book, though the Government were to quit me to Morrow, which I see no Reason to expect; and it cannot Correspond with my sense of Justice, That

That another should have a Tacit Allowance to re-

n,

nd ld

10

of

ut

r-

I

1.

of

k

or

er

n

0

it

9

t

The honesty of the Matter I shall not meddle with, because I find 'tis what the Person does not concern himself about, but Justifies; which he can do upon no other Foundation, than he may the taking my Hat from my Head, or my Purse on the Road.

These in short are the true Causes of this Publication; but since it is thus usher'd into the World, I must ask leave to make some further use of the Book it self.

First, with submission to a judgment of Charity, I cannot pass for an Incendiary: Of all the Writers of this Age, I have, I am satisfied, the most Industriously avoided writing with want of temper; and I appeal to what is now Publish'd, whether there is not rather a Spirit of Healing than of Sedition runs through the whole Collection, one misunderstood Article excepted.

And as to the excepted Piece, since the general Vogue has Condemn'd it, I submit to the Censure, but must enter a Protestation that my Intention was not Seditious. I avoid Vindicating the Measures I took in the Method of the Argument, and rather acknowledge my self in the wrong than dispute it, but, however, I might by my ill Conduct draw a Picture which shew'd a Face,

THE PREFACE.

Idid not design to Paint; yet, I never designed such a Face as should scare Mankind, and make the World think me Mad.

I have been a Man of Peace and Charity, and in all the Tracts of this Volume, I think it will appear; if Ihave offended in Rhime, I am ready to own my Error when Convinced of it.

The Enemy I have pursu'd is so, both to God and Man. If I have run down Vice with too full a Cry, still 'tis as Vice, and I am perswaded none but the Vicious will be angry; and for them, like Acids in Physick, I hope the more it disturbs them the better t'will Work.

I am very forry to find some Gentlemen angry at me for a Fault wholly their own, and which, I could not have thought would ever happen: The Case is this: They fancy themselves Lampoon'd, and Expos'd, in some Characters which were never design'd for them: And so take a Coat which never was cut out for that use.

The Truth is, these Gentlemen are Satyrs upon themselves, by fixing the Characters, as Things which must be suitable, since the likeness was such they could not know themselves from a Stranger.

Ward be stad a wager to ide

I am rather forry the Coat fits them, than that they have called it their own, fince their Persons were never known to me, before they describ'd themselves in this Accident.

I am affaulted by two or three Gentlemen of another fort, and of no mean Quality, who are angry that they are left out in some Characters in the Satyr called, Reformation of Manners; the Gentlemen are displeased, thinking I did not fuppose them bad enough to be Lampoon'd; in which I must do my self this Justice, to let them know they were mistaken; for, indeed, Ithought them too bad to meddle with, but that being harden'd in all manner of Vice, beyond reclaiming, I thought Satyr, whose End is Reformation. had no Business with them; therefore, as 'tis fear'd, their Maker has done before me, I left them to themselve, that whenever Heaven shall think fit to recover them, they may stand as Monuments of Wonder, and ferve to convince the World that Miracles are not ceas'd.

11

e

e

m

n-

nd

er

n-

la-

n: or

ip.

igs

ich

an-

am

This Collection also, may disabuse the World, who tacitly charge me with writing Disrespectfully of the Queen. I appeal to the Book it self; and and as I really never did publish the least (lause that way, so I think, I never fail'd either in Verse or Prose, to address Her Majesty with all the Deserence of a dutiful Subject, and to add so much of the Debt due to her exalted Merit as I was capable of; and if I have ever fail'd, in Cases

Cases less Publick, though it can never admit of a Proof, I shall not fail of such humble Acknow-ledgments as becomes me.

The vicious Party, who are touch'd too warmly, in some of the Satyrs, are most industriously ransacking my Character, to make it, if possible, look like themselves; the meaning is, that being as bad my self. I have really no right to find fault with them. Of this I might say much, but shall contract it to this short Hint, I never pretended to want either Sins or Missortunes, and no Man is more willing to acknowledge his Mistakes, both to God and Man, than my self. But I make the Complainants this sair Challenge, If it can be made appear, that I am Guilty of any of the Crimes for which I have Reprov'd, Satyriz'd and Animadverted upon others, so far my Satyr is unjust, and I am an improper Person to write it.

I shall say nothing to the particular Subjects treated on in this Book, let them answer for themfelves, only I think my self obliged to take notice of a Clamour, raised by some uncharitable People, about my writing against Occasional Conformity, and ill treating Mr. How.

As to the First, It has ever been my declared Principles, I have endeavour'd with a constant Diligent Enquiry into Truth, to come to a true Understanding in that Case; and after all, it remains clear to me, That a Dissenter Conforming meetly to qualify himself for an Office, is sinful against

pi

against God, scandalous to the Dissenters, and will be fatal to their interest, and in all three, I thought my self-concern'd to bring it upon the Stage. They who tax me with being the Author of Persecution by it, I think deserve no Answer, for since Occasional Communion with the Church is their Opinion, they are in no danger of Persecution: Persecution, if ever it happen, as I see no prospect of it, must not be for Occasional Complyance, but for not Complying at all.

As for my ill treating a certain Gentleman, to whom I wrote a short Presace on this Head, I appeal to all Impartial unbyass'd Judgments in the World, if there is any just Occasion given by me, in the said Presace, for such a Reply as that learned Gentleman gave me, and I refer to the Presace it self, and I farther appeal, if my Reply be in any thing Indecent, or unsuitable to the Necessity of my Argument, and the Respect due to a Man of his Merit.

Book; they that search for Faults may find them plenty, and they that will mend them for me, shall always have my Acknowledgment for the Kindness: But he that wou'd make Faults when there is none, has little Charity and less Honesty.

But fince the World has been pleased to ruffle me a little too severely, concerning my own Errors, I purpose to visit them shortly, with a State of the Case

Case between my Errors and theirs; not at all to lessen my own, but settle Matters between Vice and Repentance a little; and that they may have no Excuse to reject the Admonition, because the Reprover is not an Angel; and if all Men would but acknowledge their Faults as freely as I shall do mine, Amendment would certainly follow;

For Crimes confest are more than half Reform'd.

and the same and the same and the same due

I se mothing read to the of mess of of the a H T extended the control of the cont

Service the World has been promed to runner me

s mane, the held Charity and slots Ho-

receive too reverely, concerning thy own Errors Trumpelo to white their finetly, with a State of the Cale

THE

TABLE.

The Mock-Mourners, a Satyr.

The Character of the late Dr. Samuel Annefley, by way of Elegy.

The Spanish Descent, a Poem.

The Original Paper of the Collective Body of the People of England, Examined and Asserted.

P. 133.

The

The TABLE.

The Freeholders Plea against Stoc Elections of Parliament Men.	A 1	
Reasons against a War with France	e,	Gc.
the same of the sa	p.	183
An Argument, shewing, that a	Sta	naing
Army, with consent of Parliam	ent	, 15
not Inconsistent with a Free	Go	vern-
ment.	p.	202
The danger of the Protestant Religio	n,	from
the present prospect of a Religous		
Europe.	p.	223
Europe. The Villainy of Stock-jobbers detecte	d,	and
the Caules of the late run u	pom	the
Bank and Bankers discovered as	nd	con-
fidered.	p.	255
Bank and Bankers discovered at fidered. The Six distinguishing Characters of	a	Par-
liament Man.	p.	271
liament Man. The poor Man's Plea.	p.	284
An Enquiry into the Occasional Confo	rmi	ty of
Dissenters, in Cases of Prefermen	The state of the s	COLUMN TO SERVICE STATE OF THE
a Preface to Mr. How.	Market St. No. N	

The TABLE

A Letter to Mr. How, by way of Reply to bis Consideration of the Preface, to an Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Diffenters.

p. 322

The two great Questions considered. First,
What the French King will do, with respect to the Spanish Monarchy? Second,
What Measures the English ought to take?

The two great Questions farther considered, with some Reply to the Remarks.

An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity, Shewing, that the Dissenters are no ways concerned in it.

p. 364

p. 364

A new Test of the Church of Englands
Loyalty, or Whiggish Loyalty and Church
Loyalty compar'd.

D. 397

The shortest way with the Dissenters, or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church.

P. 397

Proposals for the Establishment of the Church.

P. 419

A Brief

A Brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet; entituled. The shortest way with the P. 435 Diffenters. The shortest Way to Peace and Union. p. 464

hat Measures the English one strong and De

leight, and or confider.

190 Ch An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity, Shon.

ing , that the Diffenters we no mays can-

ofer of the Chaling of Englands

Health compar ise thortest coar rossis a construction

Propriete for the Line Lynd Homese of the

Caller QUA G

True-Born Englishman:

A

SATYR:

Statuimus Pacem, & Securitatem, & Concordiam Judicium & Justitiam inter Anglos & Normannos, Francos, & Britones Wallix & Cornubix, Pictos & Scotos Albanix, similiter inter Francos & Infulanos, Provincias, & Patrias, qua pertinent ad Coronam nostram, & inter omnes nobis Subjectos, firmiter & inviolabiliter observari.

Charta Regis VVillielmi Conquisitors de

Pacis Publica, Cap. 1.

An Explanatory

PREFACE

IT is not that I fee any Reason to alter my Opinion in any thing I have writ, which occasions this Epistle; but I find it necessary for the satisfaction of some Persons of Honour, as well as Wit, to pass a short Explication upon it, and tell the World what I mean, or rather, what I do not mean, in some things wherein I find I am liable to be misunderstood.

I confess my self something surprized to hear that I am tax'd with Bewraying my own Nest, and Abusing our Nation,

Nation, by Discovering the Meanness of our Original, in order to make the English contemptible abroad and at home; in which, I think, they are mistaken: For why should not our Neighbours be as good as We to Derive from? And I must add, That had we been an unmix'd Nation, I am of Opinion it had been to our Disadvantage: For to go no farther, we have three Nations about us as clear from mixtures of Blood as any in the World, and I know not which of them I could wish our selves to be like; I mean the Scots, the Welsh, and the Irish; and if I were to write a reverse to the Satyr, I would examine all the Nations of Europe, and prove, That those Nations which are most mix'd, are the best, and have least of Barbarism and Brutality among them; and abundance of Reafons might be given for it, too long to bring into a reface.

But I give this Hint, to let the World know, that I am far from thinking, 'tis a Satyr upon the English Nation, to tell them, they are Derived from all the Nations under Heaven; that is, from several Nations. Nor is it meant to undervalue the Original of the English, for we see no reason to like them worse, being the Relicts of Romans, Danes, Saxons and Normans, than we should have done if they had remain'd Britains, that is, than if they had been all Welsh-

men.

But the Intent of the Satyr is pointed at the Vanity of those who talk of their Antiquity, and value themselves upon their Pedigree, their Ancient Families, and being True-Born; whereas 'tis impossible we should be True-Born; and if we could, shou'd have lost by the Bargain.

0

ti

it

as

T

to

the

ou

wh

VO

at

ft

These fort of People, who call themselves True-Born, and tell long Stories of their Families, and like a Nobleman of Venice, Think a Foreigner ought not to walk on the same side of the Street with them, are own'd to be meant in this Satyr. What they would infer from their long Original, I know not, nor is it easie to make out whether they are the better or the worse for their Ancestors: Our English Nation may Value themselves for their Wit, Wealth and Courage, and I believe sew Nations will dispute it with them; but for long Originals, and Ancient True-Born Families

An Explanatory Preface.

milies of English, I wou'd advise them to wave the Discourse. A True English Man is one that deserves a Character, and I have no were lessened him, that I know of; but as for a True-Born English Man, I confess I do not understand him.

From hence I only infer, That an English Man, of all Men, ought not to dispise Foreigners as such, and I think the Inference is just, since what they are to Day, we were yesterday, and to morrow they will be like us. If Foreigners misbehave in their several Stations and Employments, I have nothing to do with that; the Laws are open to punish them equally with Natives, and let them have no Favour.

But when I see the Town full of Lampoons and Invectives against Dutchmen, Only because they are Foreigners, and the King Reproched and Insulted by Insolent Pedants, and Ballad-making Poets, for employing Foreigners, and for being a Foreigner himself, I confess my self moved by it to remind our Nation of their own Original, thereby to let them see what a Banter is put upon our selves in it; since speaking of English-men ab Origine, we are really all Foreigners our selves.

I could go on to prove 'tis also Impolitick in us to discourage Foreigners; since 'tis easieto make it appear that the multitudes of Foreign Nations who have taken Sanchuary here, have been the greatest Additions to the Wealth and Strength of the Nation; the Essential whereof is the Number of its Inhabitants: Nor would this Nation ever have arriv'd to the Degree of Wealth and Glory it now boasts of, if the addition of Foreign Nations, both as to Manusactures and Arms, had not been helpful to it. This is so plain, that he who is ignorant of it, is too dull to be talk'd with.

of

es

ıg

e-

119

e-

he

in

gi-

ney

ngalth

ith

Fa.

lies

The Saiyr therefore I must allow to be just, till I am otherwise convinc'd; because nothing can be more ridicuous than to hear our People boast of that Antiquity, which if it had been true, would have left us in so much vorsea Condition than we are in now: Whereas we ought there to boast among our Neighbours, that we are part of themselves, of the same Original as they, but better'd

B 2

by

by our Climate, and like our Language and Manufactures, deriv'd from them, and improv'd by us to a Perfection

greater than they can pretend to.

This we might have valu'd our selves upon without Vanity: But to disown our Descent from them, talk big of our Ancient Families, and long Originals, and stand at a distance from Foreigners, like the Enthusiast in Religion, with a Stand off, I am more Holy than thou: This is a thing so ridiculous, in a Nation deriv'd from Foreigners, as we are, that I could not but attack them as I have done.

And whereas I am threatned to be call'd to a Publick Account for this Freedom; and the Publisher of this has been News-paper'd into Goal already for it; tho' I see nothing in it for which the Government can be displeased; yet if at the same time those People who with an unlimited Arrogance in Print, every Day Affront the King, Prescribe the Parliament, and Lampoon the Government, may be either Punished or Restrained, I am content to stand and fall by the publick Justice of my Native Country, which I am not sensible I have any where injur'd.

Nor would I be misunderstood concerning the Clergy; with whom if I have taken any License more than becomes a Satyr, I question not but those Gentlemen, who are Men of Letters, are also Men of so much Candor, as to allow me a Loose at the Crimes of the Guilty, without thinking the whole Profession lash'd who are Innocent. I profess to have very mean Thoughts of those Gentlemen who have deserted their own Principles, and expos'd even their Morals as well as Loyalty; but not at all to think it affects

any but such as are concern'd in the Fact.

Nor would I be misrepresented as to the Ingratitude of the English to the King and his Friends; as if I meant the English as a Nation, are so. The contrary is so apparent, that I would hope it should not be Suggested of me: And therefore when I have brought in Britannia Speaking of the King, I suppose her to be the Representative or Mouth of the Nation, as a Body. But if I say we are sull of such who daily affront the King, and abuse his Friends; who Print scurrilous Pamphlets, virulent Lampoons, and reprochful

to

to

An Explanatory Preface.

reprochful publick Banters, against both the King's Perfon and his Government; I say nothing but what is too true: And that the Sayr is directed at such, I freely own; and cannot say, but I shou'd think it very hard to be Censur'd for this Sayr, while such remain Unquestion'd and tacitly approv'd. That I can mean none but such, is plain from these sew Lines, Page 27.

Te Heavens regard! Almighty Jove, look down,
And view thy injur'd Monarch on the Throne.

On their ungrateful heads due Vengeance take,
Who sought his Aid, and then his Part forsake.

If I have fallen rudely upon our Vices, I hope none but the Vicious will be angry. As for Writing for Interest I disown it; I have neither Place nor Pension, nor Prospect; nor seek none, nor will have none: If matter of Fact justifies the Truth of the Crimes, the Satyr is just. As to the Poetick Liberties I hope the Crime is pardonable: I am content to be Ston'd, provided none will Attack me but the Innocent.

e

0

le

ıt

a-

e:

g

or

Ill

ls;

ful

If my Country-Men would take the Hint, and grow better Natur'd from my ill-natur'd Peem, as some call it; I would say this of it, that tho' it is far from the best Satyr that ever was Wrote, 'twould do the most Good that

And yet I am ready to ask Pardon of some Gentlemen to; who they are English-men, have good Nature enough to see themselves Reprov'd, and can hear it. These are Gentlemen in a true Sense, that can bare to be told of their Faux Pas, and not abuse the reprover. To such I must say, this is no Satyr; they are Exceptions to the General Rule; and I value my Performance from their

B 3

Generous

An Explanatory Preface.

Generous Approbation, more than I can from any Opi-

nion I have of its Worth.

The haity Errors of my Verse I made my Excuse for before; and since the Time I have been upon it has been but little, and my Leisure less, I have all along strove rather to make the Thoughts Explicite, than the Poem Correct. However, I have mended some Faults in this Edition,

and the rest must be plac'd to my Account.

As to Answers, Banters, True English Billinsgate, I expect them till no body will buy, and then the Shop will be shut. Had I wrote it for the Gain of the Press, I should have been concern'd at its being Printed again, and again, by Pyrates, as they call them, and Paragraph. Men: But would they but do it Justice, and print it True, according to the Copy, they are welcome to sell it for a Penny, if they please.

The Pence indeed, is the End of their Works. I'll engage, if no body will Buy, no body will Write: And not a Patriot Poet of them all now will in Defence of his Native Country, which I have abus'd, they say, Print

an Answer to it, and give it about for God's sake.

PREFACE

HE End of Satyr is Reformation: And the Author, the he doubts the Work of Conversion is at a General Stop, has put his Hand to the Plow,

I expect a Storm of Ill-language from the Fury of the Town, and especially from those whose English Talent it is to Rail: And without being taken for a Conjurer, I may venture to foretel, that I shall be Cavil'd at about my mean Stile, rough Verse, and incorrect Language; Things I might indeed have taken more Care in. But the Book is Printed; and the I see some Faults, 'tis too late to mend them: And this is all I think needful to say to them.

Possibly somebody may take me for a Dutchman, in which they are mistaken: But I am one that would be glad to see Englishmen behave themselves better to Strangers, and to Governours also; that one might not be reproached in Foreign Countries for belonging

to a Nation that wants Manners.

I assure you, Gentlemen, Strangers use us better abroad; and we can give no reason but our Ill-Nature

for the contrary here.

1

d

S

Methinks an Englishman, who is so proud of being call'd A Good-fellow, shou'd be Civil: Whereas it cannot be denied but we are in many Cafes, and particolarly to Strangers, the churlishest People alive.

As to Vices, who can dispute our Intemperance, while an Honest Drunken Fellow is a Character in a Mans Praise? All our Reformations are Banters, and will be so, till our Magistrates and Gentry Re-

from themselves by way of Example; then, and not till then, they may be expected to punish others with-

out Blusbing.

As to our Ingratitude, I desire to be understood of that particular People, who pretending to be Protestants, have all along endeavour'd to reduce the Liberties and Religion of this Nation into the Hands of King James and his Popish Powers: Together, with such who enjoy the Peace and Protection of the present Government, and yet abuse and affront the King who procur'd it, and openly profess their uneasiness under him: These, by what soever Names or Titles they are dignified, or distinguish'd, are the People aim'd at: Nor do I disown, but that it is so much the Temper of an Englishman to abuse his Benefactor, that I could be glad to see it rectified.

They who think I have been guilty of any Error, in exposing the Crimes of my own Country-men to themselves, may among many honest Instances of the like nature, find the same thing in Mr. Cowly, in his imitation of the second Olympick Ode of Pinder: His Words

are thefe;

But in this Thankless world, the Givers
Are Envy'd even by th' Receivers:
'Tis now the Cheap and Frugal Fashion,
Rather to hide than pay an Obligation.
Nay, 'tis much worse than so;
It now an Artisice doth grow,
Wrongs and Outrages to do,
Lest Men should think we Owe.

INTRODUCTION.

SPeak, Satyr, for there's none can tell like thee, Whether 'tis Folly, Pride, or Knavery, That makes this discontented Land appear Less happy now in Times of Peace, than War: Why Civil Feuds distrub the Nation more, Than all our bloody Wars have done before.

Fools out of Favour grudge at Knaves in Place, And men are always honest in Disgrace: The Court Preferments make Men Knaves in courfe: But they which wou'd be in them, wou'd be worfe. Tis not at Foreigners that we repine, Wou'd Foreigners their Perquifites refign: The Grand Contention's plainly to be seen, To get some Men put out, and some put in. For this our Senaters make long Harangues. And flored Members whet their polish'd Tongues. Statesmen are always sick of one Disease; And a good Pension gives them present Ease. That's the Specifick makes them all Content With any King and any Government. Good Patriots at Court-Abuses rail, And all the Nation's Grievances bewail: But when the Sov'reign Balfam's once apply'd, The Zealot never fails to change his Side; And when he must the Golden Key resign, The Railing Spirit comes about again.

Who shall this Bubbl'd Nation disabuse,
While they their own Felicities refuse?
Who at the Warshave made such mighty Pother,
And now are falling out with one another:
With needless Fears the Jealous Nation fill,
And always have been sav'd against their Will:
Who Fifty Millions Sterling have disburs'd
To be with Peace and too much Plenty Curs'd.
Who there Old Monarch eagerly undo,
And yet uneasily obey the New.
Search, Satyr, search; a deep Incision make;
The Poyson's strong, the Antidote's too weak.
Tis pointed Truth must manage this Dispute,
And down-right English Englishmen Confute.

Whet thy just Anger at the Nation's Pride;
'And with keen Phrase repel the Vicious Tide.
To Englishmen their own beginings show,
'And ask them why they slight their Neighbours so.
Go back to elder Times and Ages past,
And Nations into long Oblivion cast;
To old Britannia's Youthful Days retire,
And there for True-Born Englishmen inquire.
Britannia freely will disown the Name,
And hardiy knows her self from whence they came:
Wonders that They of all Men shou'd pretend
To Birth and Blood, and for a Name contend.
Go back to Causes where our Follies dwell,
And fetch the dark Original from Hell:
Speak, Satyr, for there's none like thee can tell.

THE

True Born Englishman.

PART I.

Here-ever God erects a House of Prayer,
The Devil always builds a Chapel there:
And 'twill be found upon Examination,
The latter has the largest Congregation:

For ever fince he first debauch'd the Mind, He made a perfect Conquest of Mankind. With Uniformity of Service, he Reigns with a general Aristocracy. No Nonconforming Sects diffurb his Reign, For of his Yoak there's very few Complain. He knows the Genius and the Inclination, And matches proper Sins for ev'ry Nation. Heneeds no standing Army Government; He always Rules us by our own Confent: His Laws are easie, and his gentle Sway Makes it exceeding pleafant to obey. The List of his Vice-gerents and Commanders, Out-does your Casars, or your Alexanders. They never fail of his infernal Aid, And he's as certain ne'er to be betray'd. Thro' all the World they spread his vast Command, And Death's Eternal Empire is maintain'd.

They rule so politickly and so well,
As if there were Lords Festices of Hell,
Duly divided to debauch Mankind,
And plant Infernal Dictates in his Mind;

Pride, the first Peer, and presedent of Hell,
To his share Spain, the largest Province, sell.
The subtle Prince thought sittest to bestow
On these the Golden Mines of Mexico;
With all the Silver Mountains of Peru;
Wealth which would in wise hands the World undo:
Because he knew their Genius to be such;
Too Lazy and too Haughty to be Rich.
So proud a People, so above their Fate,
That if reduc'd to beg, they'll beg in State,
Lavish of Money, to be counted Brave,
And proudly starve, because they scorn to save.
Never was Nation in the World before,
So very Rich, and yet so very Poor.

Lust chose the Torid Zone of Italy,
Were Blood ferments in Rapes and Sodomy:
Were swelling Veins o'erslow with lived Streams,
With Heat impregnate from Vesuvian Flames:
Whose slowing Sulphur forms Infernal Lakes,
And Humane Body of the Soil partakes.
There Nature ever burns with hot Desires,
Fann'd with Luxuriant Air from Subterranean Fires:
Here undisturb'd in Floods of scalding Lust,
Th'Infernal King reigns with Infernal Gust.

Drunk'ness, the Darling Favourite of Hell,
Chose Germany to Rule; and Rules so well,
No Subjects more obsequiously obey,
None please so well, or are so pleas'd as they.
The cunning Artist manages so well,
He lets them Bow to Heav'n, and Drink to Hell.
If but to Wine and him they Homage pay,
He cares not to what Deity they Pray,
What God they worship most, or in what way.
Whether by Luther, Calvin, or by Rome,
They sail for Heav'n, by Wine he steers them home.

Ungovern'd Passion settled first in France,
Where Mankind Lives in Haste, and Thrives by Chance,
A Dancing Nation, Fickle and Untrue:
Have oft undone themselves, and others too:
Prompt the Infernal Dictates to Obey,
And in Hell's Favour none more great than they.

The Pagan World he blindly leads away,
And Personally Rules with Arbitrary Sway:
The Mask thrown off, Plain Devil his Title stands;
And what elsewhere he Tempts, he there Commands.
There with full Gust th' Ambition of his Mind Governs, as he of old in Heav'n design'd.
Worship'd as God, his Painim Altars sinoke,
Embru'd with Blood of those that him invoke.

The rest by Deputies he Rules as well, And plants the distant Colonies of Hell. By them his secret Power he well maintains, And binds the World in his Infernal Chains.

By Zeal the Irish; and the Rush by Folly:
Fury the Dane: The Swede by Melancholy:
By stupid Ignorance the Muscovire:
The Chinese by a Child of Hell, call'd Wit;
VVealth makes the Persian too Esseminate:
And Poverty the Tartars Desperate:
The Turks and Moors by Mah'met he subdues:
And God has given him leave to rule the Jews:
Rage rules the Portugeuse, and Fraud the Scotch:
Revenge the Pole; and Avarice the Dutch.

Satyr be kind, and draw a filent Veil,
Thy Native England's Vices to conceal:
Or if that Task's impossible to do,
At least be just, and show her Vertues too;
Too great the first, Alas! the last too Few.

England unknown as yet, unpeopled lay;
Happy, had she remain'd so to this Day,
And not to ev'ry Nation been a Prey.
Her open Harbours, and her Fertile Plains,
The Merchants Glory these, and those the Swains,
To ev'ry Barbarous Nation have betray'd her,
Who Conquer her as oft as they Invade her.
So Beauty Guarded but by Innocence,
That Ruins her which should be her Defence.

Ingratitude, a Devil of Black Renown, Posses'd her very early for his own. In Ugly, Surly, Sullen, Selfish Spirit,

The Satan's worst Perfections does Inherit:
econd to him in Malice and in Force,
Il Devil wi hout, and all within him Worse.

He made her First-born Race to be so rude,
And suffer'd her to be so oft subdu'd:
By sev'ral Crowds of wand'ring Thieves o'er run,
Often unpeopl'd, and as oft undone.
While ev'ry Nation that her Powers reduc'd,
Their Languages and Manners soon Insus'd.
From whose mix'd Relicks our Compounded Breed,
By Spurious Generation does succeed;
Making a Race uncertain and unev'n,
Deriv'd from all the Nations under Heav'n.

The Romans first with Julius Casar came, including all the Nations of that Name, Sauls, Greeks, and Lombards; and by Computation, Auxiliaries, or Slaves of ev'ry Nation.

With Hengist, Saxons; Danes with Sueno came, in search of Plunder, not in search of Fame.

Cots, Picts, and Irish from th' Hibernian Shore;

And Conquering William brought the Normans o'er.

All these their Barb'rous Off-spring lest behind, The Dregs of Armies, they of all Mankind; Blended with Britains who before where here, Of whom the Welsh ha' blest the Character.

From this Amphibious Ill-born Mob began hat vain ill natur'd thing, an Englishman.

The Customs, Sirnames, Languages, and Manners, Of all these Nations are their own Explainers: Whose Relicks are so lasting and so strong, They ha' left a Shiboleth upon our Tongue; By which with easie search you may distinguish Your Roman-Saxon-Danish-Norman English.

Wm. th The great Invading * Norman let us know Conq. What Conquerors in After-Times might do * Or Archer To ev'ry * Musqueteer he brought to Town, He gave the Lands which never were his own. When first the English Crown he did obtain, He did not fend his Dutchmen home again. No Re-assumption in his Reign were known, Davenant might there ha' let his Book alone. No Parliament his Army cou'd disband; He rais'd no Money, for he paid in Land. He gave his Legions their Eternal Station, And made them all Free-holders of the Nation. He Canton'd out the Country to his Men, And ev'ry Soldier was a Denizen. The Rascals thus Enrich'd, he call'd them Lords, To please their Upstart Pride with new maid Words; And Doomsday-Book his Tyranny Records.

And here begins our Ancient Pedigree
That so exalts our poor Nobility:
Tis that from some French Trooper they derive,
Who with the Norman Bastard did arrive:
The Trophies of the Families appear;
Some show the Sword, the Bow, and some the Spear,
Which their Great Ancestor, for sooth, did wear.

Their Noble mean Extraction to explain. Yet who the Heroe was, no Man can tell, Whether a Drummer, or a Colonel: The filent Record Blushes to reveal Their Undescended Dark Original.

But grant the best, How came the Change to pass;
A True-Born Englishman of Norman Race?
A Turkish Horse can show more History,
To prove his Well-descended Family.
Conquest, as by the * Moderns 'tis exprest, *Dr. Sheel.
May give a Title to the Lands possest:
But that the Longest Sword shou'd be so Civil,
To make a French-man English, that's the Devil.

These are the Heroes who despise the Dutch,
And rail at new come Foreigners so much;
Forgetting that themselves are all deriv'd
From the most Scoundrel Race that ever liv'd,
A horrid Crowd of Rambling Thieves and Drones,
Who ransack'd Kingdoms, and dispeopled Towns.
The Piet and Painted Britain, Treach'rous Scot,
By Hunger, Thest, and Rapine, hither brought.
Norwegian Pirates, Buccaneering Danes,
Whose Red-hair'd Off-spring ev'ry where remains.
Who join'd with Norman-French compound the Breed,
From whence your True Born Englishmen proceed.

And lest by Length of Time it be pretended, The Climate may this Modern Breed ha' mended;

Wife Providence to keep us where we are, Mixes us daily with exceeding Care: We have been Europe's Sink, the Jakes where she Voids all her Offal Out-cast Progeny. From our Fifth Henry's time, the Strolling Bands Of banish'd Fugitives from Neighb'ring Lands, Have here a certain Sanctuary found: Th' Eternal Refuge of the Vagabond. Where in but half a common Age of Time, Borr'wing new Blood and Manners from the Clime, Proudly they learn all Mankind to contemn, And all their Race are True Born Englishmen.

Dutch, Walloons, Flemmings, Irishmen, and Scots, Vaudois and Valtolins, and Hugonots, In good Queen Bess's Charitable Reign, Supply'd us with three hundred thousand Men. Religion, God we thank thee, fent them hither, Priests, Protestants, the Devil and all together: Of all Professions, and of ev'ry Trade, All that were perfecuted or afraid; Whether for Debt, or other Crimes they fled, David at Hackelah was still their Head.

The Off-spring of this Miscellaneous Crowd, Had not their new Plantations long enjoy'd, But they grew Englishmen, and rais'd their Votes At Foreign Shoales of Interloping Scots. *K.7.I. The * Royal Branch from Piet-land did fucceed, With Troops of Scots, and Scabs from North-by-Tweed. The Seven first Years of his Pacifick Reign Made him and half his Nation Englishmen.

Scott

C

7h

h ld

h

he it

B

e]

nel

lide

hof

Scots from the Northern Frozen Banks of Tay,
With Packs and Plods came Whigging all away:
Thick as the Locusts which in Agypt swarm'd,
With Pride and hungry Hopes compleatly arm'd:
With Native Truth, Diseases, and no Money,
Plunder'd our Canaan of the Milk and Honey,
Here they grew quickly Lords and Gentlemen,
And all their Race are True-Born-Englishmen.

The Civil Wars, the common Purgative. Which always use to make the Nation thrive, Made way for all the strolling Congregation, Which throng'd in Pious Ch____s's Restoration. The Royal Refugee our Breed reftores, With Foreign Courtiers, and with Foreign Whores: And carefully repeopled us again, Throughout his Lazy, Long, Lascivious Reign ; With fuch a bleft and True-born English Fry, As much Illustrates our Nobility. Gratitude which will so black appear, s future Ages must abhor to hear : When they look back on all that Crimfon Flood. Thich stream'd in Lindsey's, and Caernarvon's Blood: old Stafford, Cambridge, Capel, Lucas, Life, ho crown'd in Death his Father's Fun'ral Pile. The loss of whom, in order to supply, ith True-Born-English bred Nobility, Bastard Dukes survive his Luscious Reign, te Labours of Italian Castlemain, meh Portsmouth, Taby Scot, and Cambrian. sides the Num'rous Bright and Virgin Throng, hose Female Glories shade them from my Song. This

I.

ott

This Off-spring, if one Age they multiply, May half the House with English Peers supply: There with true English Pride they may contemn Schomborg and Portland, new made Noblemen.

French Cooks, Scotch Pedlars, and Italian Whores, Were all made Lords, or Lords Progenitors. Beggars and Bastards by his new Creation, Much multiply'd the P—ge of the Nation; Who will be all, e'er one short Age runs o'er, As True-Born Lords as those we had before.

Then to recrute the Commons he prepares, And heal the Latent Breaches of the Wars; The Pious Purpose better to advance, H'invites the banish'd Protestants of France : Hither for Gods-fake and their own they fled, Some for Religion came, and some for Bread: Two hundred Thousand Pair of Wooden Shooes, Who, God be thank'd, had nothing left to lose; To Heav'n's great Praise did for Religion fly, To make us starve our Poor in Charity. In ev'ry Port they plant their fruitful Train, To get a Race of True-Born Englishmen: Whose Children will, when Riper Years they see, Be as Ill-natur'd and as Proud as we: Call themselves English, Foreigners despise, Be Surly like us all, and just as VVise.

Thus from a Mixture of all Kinds began, That Het'rogeneous Thing, An Englishman: retwixt a Painted Britain and a Scot.

Whose gend'ring Off-spring quickly learn'd to Bow, and yoke the Heisers to the Roman Plough:

com whence a Mongrel half-Bred Race there came, with neither Name, or Nation, Speech or Fame, whose hot Veins new Mixtures quickly ran, afus'd bet wixt a Saxon and a Dane.

While their Rank Daughters, to their Parents just, eceiv'd all Nations with Promiscuous Lust. This Nauseous Brood directly did contain The well extracted Blood of Englishmen.

Which Medly canton'd in a Heptarchy,
A Rhapfody of Nations to supply,
Among themselves maintain'd eternal Wars,
And still the Ladies lov'd the Conquerors.

The Western Angles all the rest subdu'd; a bloody Nation, barbarous and rude: Who by the Tenure of the Sword possest one part of Britain, and subdu'd the rest. India as great things denominate the small, the Conqu'ring part gave Title to the whole. The Scot, Piet, Britain, Roman, Dane submit, and with the English-Saxon all Unite: and these the mixture have so close pursu'd, the very Name and Memory's subdu'd: to Roman now, no Britain does remain; sales strove to separate, but strove in vain: the silent Nations undistinguish'd fall, and Englishman's the common Name for all.

Fate jumbled them together, God knows how; Whate'er they were, they're True-Born English now.

The Wonder which remains is at our Pride,
To value that which all wife Men deride.
For Englishmen to boast of Generation,
Cancels their Knowledge, and Lampoons the Nation.
A True-Borm Englishman's a Contradiction,
In Speech an Irony, in Fact a Fiction.
A Banter made to be a test of Fools,
Which those that use it justly ridicules.
A Metaphor invented to express
A Man a-kin to all the Universe.

For as the Scots, as Learned Men ha' faid,
Throughout the World their Wand'ring Seed ha' spread;
So open-handed England, 'tis Believ'd,
Has all the Gleanings of the VVorld Receiv'd.

Some think of England'twas our Saviour meant, The Gospel should to all the VVorld be sent: Since, when the Blessed Sound did hither reach, They to all Nations might be said to Preach.

'Tis well that Virtue gives Nobility,

How shall we else the want of Birth and Blood supply?

Since scarce one Family is left alive,

Vhich does not from some Foreigner derive.

Of sixty thousand English Gentlemen,

Vhose Names and Arms in Registers remain,

Vve challenge all our Heralds to declare

Ten Families which English Saxons are.

France justly boasts the Ancient Noble Line
Of Bourbon, Mommorency, and Lorrain.
The Germans too their House of Austria show,
And Holland their Invincible Nassan.
Lines which in Heraldry were ancient grown,
Before the Name of Englishman was known.
Even Scotland too, her Elder Glory shows,
Her Gourdons, Hamiltons, and her Monroes;
Douglas, Mackays, and Grahams, Names well known,
Long before Ancient England knew her own.

But England, Modern to the last degree,
Borrows or makes her own Nobility,
And yet she boldly boasts of Pedigree:
Repines that Foreigners are put upon her,
And talks of her Antiquity and Honour:
Her S—lls, S—ls, C—ls, De—la, M—rs,
M—ns and M—nes, D—s, and V—rs,
Not one have English Names, yet all are English Peers.
Your Houblons, Papillons, and Lethuliers.
Pass now for True-born-English Knights and Squires,
And make good Senate Members, or Lord-Mayors.
Wealth, howsoever got, in England makes
Lords of Mechanicks, Gentlemen of Rakes:
Antiquity and Birth are needless here;
'Tis Impudence and Money makes a P—r.

Innumerable City-Knights we know, From Blewcoat-Hospitals and Bridewel flow. Draymen and Porters fill the City Chair, And Foot-Boys Magisterial Purple wear.

C 4

Fate has but very small Distinction set
Betwixt the Counter and the Coronet.

Tarpaulin L —— ds, Pages of high Renown,
Rise up by Poor Mens Valour, not their own.

Great Families of yesterday we show,
And Lords, whose Parents were the Lord knows who.

PART II.

Their Temper show, for Manners make the Man.
Fierce, as the Britain; as the Roman Brave;
And less inclin'd to Conquer than to Save:
Eager to Fight, and lavish of their Blood;
And equally of Fear and Forecast void.
The Pitt has made 'em Sowre, the Dane Morose,
False from the Scot, and from the Norman worse.
What Honesty they have, the Saxons gave them.
And That, now they grow old, begins to leave them.
The Climate makes them Terrible and Bold;
And English Beef their Courage does uphold:
No Danger can their Daring Spirit pall,
Always provided that their Belly's full.

In close Intrigues their Faculty's but weak,
For gen'rally whate'er they know they speak:
And often their own Councils undermine,
By meer Infirmity, without Design;
From whence the Learned say it does proceed,
That English Treasons never can succeed,

For they're so open-hearted, you may know Their own most secret Thoughts, and others too.

The Lab'ring Poor, in spight of Double Pay, Are Sawcy, Mutinous, and Beggarly:

o lavish of their Money and their Time, That want of Forecast is the Nation's Crime. Good Drunken Company is their Delight; And what they get by Day they spend by Night. Dull Thinking seldom does their Heads engage, But Drink their Touth away, and Hurry on Old Age. Empty of all good Husbandry and Sense; And void of Manners most, when void of Pence. Their strong aversion to Behaviour's such, They always talk too little, or too much. So dull, they never take the pains to think: And seldom are good natur'd, but in Drink.

In English Ale their dear Enjoyment lies,
For which the'll starve themselves and Families.
An Englishman will fairly Drink as much
As will maintain two Families of Dutch:
Subjecting all their Labour to the Pots;
The greatest Artists are the greatest Sots.

The Country poor do by Example live,
The Gentry lead them, and the Clergy drive;
What may we not from such Examples hope?
The Landlord is their God, the Priest their Pope.
A Drunken Clergy, and a Swearing Bench,
Has giv'n the Reformation such a Drench.

(16)

As wise Men think there is some cause to doubt, Will Purge good Manners and Religion out.

The Sages joyn in this great Sacrifice.
The Learned Men who study Aristotle,
Correct him with an Explanation Bottle;
Praise Epicurus rathar than Lysander,
And * Aristippus more than Alexander. * The Drunkarde Name for Canary,
And gen'rally prescribe Specifick Wine.
The Graduates Study's grown an easier Task,
While for the Urinal they toss the Flask.
The Surgeon's Art grows plainer ev'ry Hour,
And Wine's the Balm which into Wounds they pour.

Poets long fince Parnassus have for saken,
And say the ancient Bards were all mistaken.
Apollo's lately abdicate and fled,
And good King Bacchus governs in his stead;
He does the Chaos of the Head refine,
And Atom-Thoughts jump into Words by Wine:
The Inspiration's of a finer Nature;
As Wine must needs excel Parnassus Water.

Statesmen their weighty Politics refine,
And Soldiers raise their Courages by Wine;
Cacilia gives her Choristers their Choice,
And let's them all drink Wine to clear their Voice,

Some think the Clergy first found out the way, And Wine's the only Spirit by which they Pray. But others, less prophane than so, agree, It clears the Lungs and helps the Memory: And therefore all of them Divinely think, Instead of Study, 'tis as well to Drink.

And here I would be very glad to know, Whether our Afgilites may drink or no. Th'Enlightned Fumes of Wine would certainly, Assist them much when they begin to fly: Or if a Fiery Chariot shou'd appear, Inflam'd by Wine, they'd ha' the less to fear.

Even the Gods themselves, as Mortals say,
Where they on Earth, wou'd be as drunk as they:
Nestar would be no more Gelestial Drink,
They'd all take Wine, to teach them how to think.
But English Drunkards, Gods and men out-do,
Drink their Estates away, and Senses too.
Colon's in Dept, and if his Friends should fail
To he!p him out, must Die at last in Goal;
His Wealthy Uncle sent a Hundred Nobles,
To pay his tristes off, and rid him of his troubles:
But Colon lik a True-Born-Englishman,
Drank all the Money out in bright Champain;
Bud Colon does in Custody remain.
Drunk'ness has been the Darling of the Realm,
E'er since a Drunken Pilot had the Helm.

In their Religion they are so unev'n, That each Man goes his own By-way to Ficaven.

Uncon Page 19 ... or diger for the

Tenna-

Tenacious of Mistakes to that degree.
That ev'ry Man pursues it sep'rately,
And fancies none can find the Way but he:
So shy of one another they are grown,
As if they strove to get to Heav'n alone.
Rigid and Zealous, Positive and Grave,
And ev'ry Grace, but Charity, they have:
This makes them soll-natur'd and Uncivil,
That all Men think an Englishman the Devil.

Surly to Strangers, Froward to their Friend; Submit to Love with a reluctant Mind; Refolv'd to be Ungrateful and Unkind. If by Necessity reduced to ask. The Giver has the difficultest Task: For what's bestow'd they aukwardly receive, And always take less freely than they give. The Obligation is their highest Grief; And never Love, where they accept Relief. So fullen in their Sorrows, that 'tis known, They'll rather die than their Afflictions own: And if reliev'd, it is too often true, I hat they'll abuse their Benefactors too: For in Distress their Haughty Stomach's such, They hate to fee themselves oblig'd too much, Seldom Contented, often in the Wrong; Hard to be Pleas'd at all, and never long.

If your Mistakes their Ill-Opinion gain,
No Merit can their Favour re-obtain:
And if they're not Vindictive in their Fury,
'Tis their Unconstant Temper does secure ye;

Their

Their Brain's fo cool, their Passion seldom burns:
For all's condens'd before the Flame returns:
The Fermentation's of so weak a Matter,
The Humid damps the Fume, and runs it all to Water.
So tho' the Inclination may be strong,
They're Pleas'd by sits, and never Angry long.

Then if Good Nature shows some slender Proof, They never think they have Reward enough; But like our Modern Quakers of the Town, Expect your Manners, and Return you none.

Friendship, th' abstracted Union of the Mind, Which all Men seek, but very sew can find: Of all the Nations in the Universe, None talk on't more, or understand it less: For if it does their Property annoy, Their Property their Friendship will destroy.

As you discourse them, you shall hear them tell All things in which they think they do excel:
No Panegyrick needs their Praise record;
An Englishman ne'er wants his one good word.
His long Discourses gen'rally appear
Prologu'd with his own wond'rous Character:
But first t' illustrate his own good Name,
He never fails his Neighbour to defame:
And yet he really designs no wrong;
His Malice goes no further than his Tongue.
But Pleas'd to Tattle, he delights to Rail,
Te satisfie the Letch'ry of a Tale.

His own dear Praises close the ample Speech, Tells you how Wise he is; that is, how Rich: For Wealth is Wisdom; he that's Rich is Wise; And all Men Learned Poverty Despise.

His Generosity comes next, and then Concludes that he's a True-Born Englishman; And they, 'tis known, are Generous and Free, Forgetting, and Forgiving Injury: Which may be true, thus rightly understood, Forgiving ill turns, and forgetting Good.

Chearful in Labour when they have undertook it,
But out of Humour, when they're out of Pocket.
But if their Belly, and their Pocket's full,
They may be Phlegmatick, but never Dull:
And if a Bottle does their Brains refine,
It makes their Wit as sparkling as their Wine.

As for the general Vices which we find They're guilty of in common with Mankind, Satyr, forbear, and filently indure; We must conceal the Crimes we cannot cure.

Nor shall my Verse the brighter Sex desame;
For English Beauty will preserve her Name
Beyond dispute, Agreeable and Fair,
And Modester than other Nations are:
For where the Vice prevails, the great Temptation
Is want of Money more than Inclination.
In general, this only is allow'd,
They're something Noisy, and a little Proud.

An Englishman is gentlest in Command,
Obedience is a Stranger in the Land:
Hardly subjected to the Magistrate,
For Englishmen do all Subjection hate.
Humblest when Rich, but peevish when they're Poor:
And think whate'er they have, they Merit more.

The meanest English Plow-man studies Law, And keeps thereby the Magistrates in Awe; Will boldly tell them what they ought to do, And sometimes punish their Omission too.

Their Liberty and Property's so dear,
They Scorn their Laws or Governours to sear:
So bugbear'd with the Name of Slavery,
They can't submit to their own Liberty.
Restraint from Ill, is Freedom to the wise;
But Englishmen do all Restraint Despise.
Slaves to the Liquor, Drudges to the Pots,
The Mob are Statesmen, and their Statesmen Sots.

Their Governours they count such dangerous things, hat 'tis their Custom to affront their Kings: o jealous of the Power their Kings posses'd, hey suffer'd neither Power nor Kings to rest. The Bad with Force they eagerly subdue; The Good with constant Clamours they pursue:

And did King Jesus Reign, they'd murmur too.

discontented Nation, and by far

Larder to rule in Times of Peace than War:

(22)

Easily set together by the Ears,
And sull of causeless Jealousies and Fears:
Apt to Revolt, and willing to Rebel,
And never are contented when they're well.
No Government cou'd ever please them long,
Cou'd tie their Hands, or rectifie their Tongue.
In this, to Ancient Israel well compar'd,
Eternal Murmurs are among them heard.

It was but lately that they were opprest,
Their Rights invaded, and their Laws supprest:
When nicely tender of their Liberty,
Lord! What a Noise they made of Slavery.
In daily Tumults show'd their Discontent;
Lampoon'd their King, and mock'd his Government.
And if in Arms they did not first appear,
'Twas want of Force, and not for want of Fear.
In humbler Tone than English us'd to do,
At foreign Hands, for Foreign Aid they sue.

William, the great Successor of Nassau,
Their Prayers heard, and their Oppressions saw:
He saw and sav'd them: God and Him they prais'd;
To this their Thanks, to that their Trophies rais'd.
But glutted with their own Felicities,
They soon their New Deliverer Despise;
Say all their Prayers back, their Joy disown,
Unsing their Thanks, and pull their Trophies down:
Their Harps of Praise are on the Willows hung;
For Englishmen are ne'er contented long.

The Rev'rend Clergy too! and who'd ha' thought That they who had fuch Non-Relistance taught. should e'er to Arms against their Prince be brought? Who up to Heaven did Regal Pow'r advance; Subjecting English Laws to Modes of France. Twifting Religion fo with Loyalty, As one cou'd never Live, and t'other Die. And yet no fooner did their Prince defign Their Glebes and Perquifites to undermine. But all their Passive Doctrines laid aside; The Clergy their own Principles deny'd: Unpreach'd their Non-refifting Cant, and Pray'd To Heaven for Help, and to the Dutch for Aid. The Church chim'd all their Doctrines back again, And Pulpit Champions did the Cause maintain; Flew in the Face of all their former Zeal. And Non-Relistance did at once repeal.

The Rabbies say it would be too prolix,
To tie Religion up to Politicks:
The Churches Safety is Suprema Lex.
And so by a new Figure of their own,
Their former Doctrines all at once disown.
As Laws Post Facto in the Parliament,
In urgent Cases have obtain'd Assent;
But are as dangerous Presidents laid by;
Made Lawful only by Necessity.

The Rev'rend Fathers then in Arms appear, And Men of God became the Men of War. The Nation, Fir'd by them, to Arms apply, Affault their Antichristian Monarchy;

n

To their due Channel all our Laws restore, And made things what they shou'd ha' been before. But when they came to fill the Vacant Throne, And the Pale Priests look'd back on what they'd done; How English Liberty began to thrive, And Church of England Loyalty out-Live: How all their perfecuting Days were done, And their Deliv'rer plac'd upon the Throne: The Priests, as Priests are wont to do, turn'd Tail: They're Englishmen, and Nature will prevail. Now they deplore the Ruins they ha' made, And murmur for the Master they betray'd. Excuse those Crimes they cou'd not make him mend: And fuffer for the Cause they can't defend. Pretend they'd not have carried things fo high; And Proto-Martyrs make for Popery. Had the Prince done as they delign'd the thing, Ha' fet the Clergy up to Rule the King; Taken a Donative for coming hither, And fo ha' left their King and them together. We had, fay they, been now a happy Nation. No doubt we'd feen a Bleffed Reformation: For Wife Men fay 'tis as a dangerous a thing, A Ruling Priest-hood, as a Priest-rid King. And of all Plagues with which Mankind are Curft, Ecclesiastick Tyranny's the worft.

If all our former Grievances were feign'd, King James has been abus'd, and we trapan'd; Bugbear'd with Popery and Power Despotick, Tyrannick Government, and Leagues Exotick: The Revolution's a Phanatick Plot, W-a Tyrant, and K-J-was not: A Factious Army, and a Poyfon'd Nation, Injustly forc'd King James's Abdication.

But if he did the Subjects Rights invade, Then he was punish'd only, not betray'd; And punishing of King's is no such Crime. But Englishmen ha' done it many a Time.

When Kings the Sword of Justice first lay down, They are no Kings, though they possess the Crown. itles are Shadows, Crowns are empty things, The Good of Subjects is the End of Kings; To guide in War, and to protect in Peace: Where Tyrants once commence the Kings do cease: For Arbitrary Power's fo strange a thing, It makes the Tyrant, and unmakes the King.

If Kings by Foreign Priests and Armies Reign, nd lawless Power against their Oaths maintain, Then Subjects must ha' reason to complain.

Oaths must bind us when our Kings do ill; call in Foreign Aid is to Rebel.

force to circumfcribe our Lawful Prince, wilful Treason in the largest Sense: nd they who once Rebel, most certainly heir God, and King, and former Oaths defy. we allow no Male Administration ould cancel the Allegiance of the Nation: t all our Learned Sons of Levy try, s Eccles'aftick Riddle to uniy:

How

How they could make a Step to Call the Prince, And yet pretend to Oaths and Innocence.

By th' first Address they made beyond the Seas, They're Perjur'd in the most intense Degrees'; And without Scruple for the time to come, May Swear to all the Kings in Christendom. And truly, did our Kings consider all, They'd never let the Clergy swear at all: Their Politick Allegiance they'd resuse; For Whores and Priests will never want Excuse.

But if the Mutual Contract was dissolv'd. The Doubts explain'd, the Difficulty folv'd: That Kings when they descend to Tyranny, Diffolve the Bond, and leave the Subject free. The Government's ungirt, when Justice dies, And Constitutions are Non-Entities. The Nation's all a Mob, there's no fuch thing As Lords or Commons, Parliament or King. A great promiscuous Croud the Hydra lies, Till Laws revive, and mutual Contract ties: A Chaos free to chuse for their own share, What Case of Government they please to wear: If to a King they do the Reins commit, All Men are bound in Conscience to submit: But then that King must by his Oath assent To Postulata's of the Government; Which if he breaks, he cuts off the Entail, And Power retreats to its Original.

This Doctrine has the Sanction of Assent,
From Nature's Universal Parliament.

The Voice of Nations, and the Course of Things, Allow that Laws superior are to Kings.

None but Delinquents would have Justice cease,

Knaves rail at Laws, as Soldiers rail at Peace:

For Justice is the End of Government,

As Reason is the Test of Argument.

No Man was ever yet so void of Sense,
As to Debate the Right of Self-Desence,
A Principle so grafted in the Mind,
With Nature born, and does like Nature bind:
Twisted with Reason and with Nature too;
As neither one nor t'other can undo.

Nor can this Right be less when National; Reason which governs one, should govern all. Whate'er the Dialect of Courts may tell, He that his Right Demands, can ne'er Rebel. Which Right, if 'tis by Governours deny'd, May be procur'd by Force, or Foreign Aid. For Tyranny's a Nation's Term of Grief; As Folks cry Fire, to hasten in Relief. And when the hated Word is heard about, All Men shou'd come to help the People out.

Thus England cry'd, Britannia's Voice was heard, And great Nassau to rescue her appear'd: Call'd by the Universal Voice of Fate; God and the Peoples Legal Magistrate. Ye Heav'ns regard! Almighty Jove, look down, And view thy injur'd Monarch on the Throne.

On their Ungrateful Hands the Vengeance take, Who fought his Aid, and then his Side forfake. Witness, ye Powers! It was our Call alone, Which now our Pride makes us asham'd to own. Britannia's troubles fetch'd him from asar, To Court the dreadful Casualties of Wat:

But where Requital never can be made,

Acknowledgment's a Tribute seldom pay'd.

He dwelt in Bright Maria's Circling Arms,
Defended by the Magick of her Charms,
From Foreign Fears, and from Domestick Harms.
Ambition found no Fuel for her Fire,
He had what God cou'd give, or Man desire.
Till Pity rowz'd him from his soft Repose:
His Life to unseen Hazards to expose;
Till Pity mov'd him in our Cause t'appear;
Pity! That Word which now we hate to hear.
But English Gratitude is always such,
To hate the Hand which does oblige too much.

And hardly gain'd his unforeseen Assent:
His boding Thoughts foretold him he should find.
The People Fickle, Selfish and Unkind:
Which Thought did to his Royal Heart appear
More dreadful than the Dangers of the War:
For nothing grates a generous Mind so soon,
As base Returns for hearty Service done.

Satyr be silent, awfully prepare, Britannia's Song, and William's Praise to hear. Stand by, and let her chearfully rehearse
Her grateful Vows in her Immortal Verse.
Loud Fame's Eternal Trumpet let her sound:
Listen ye distant Poles, and endless Round.
May the strong Blast the welcome News convey
As far as Sound can reach, or Spirit can sly.
To Neighb'ring Worlds, if such there be, relate
Our Hero's Fame, for theirs to imitate.
To distant Worlds of Spirits let her rehearse:
For Spirits without the helps of Voice Converse.
May Angels hear the gladsome News on high,
Mix'd with their everlasting Symphony.
And Hell it self stand in Suspence to know,
Whether it be the Fatal Blast, or no.

BRITANNIA.

The Fame of Vertue 'tis for which I sound,
And Heroes with Immortal Triumphs Crown'd.

Fame built on solid Vertue swifter flies,
Than Morning-Light can spread my Eastern Skies.

The gath'ring Air returns the doubling Sound,
And loud repeating Thunders force it round:

Ecchoes return from Caverns of the Deep:
Old Chaos Dreams on't in Eternal Sleep.

Time bands it forward to its latest Urn,

From whence it never, never shall return;

Nothing is heard so far, or lasts so long;

Tis heard by ev'ry Ear, and spoke by ev'ry Tongue.

My Hero, with the Sails of Honour Furl'd, Rises like the Great Genius of the World. By Fate and Fame wisely prepar'd to be
The Soul of War, and Life of Victory.
He spreads the Wings of Vertue on the Throne,
And ev'ry Wind of Glory fans them on.
Immortal Trophies dwell upon his Brow,
Fresh as the Garlands be has won but now.

By different Steps the high Assent he gains,

And differently that high Assent maintains.

Princes for Pride, and Lust of Rule, make War;

And struggle for the Name of Conqueror.

Some Fight for Fame, and some for Victory;

He Fights to Save, and Conquers to set Free.

Then feek no Phrase his Titles to conceal, 'And hide with Words what Actions must reveal. No Parallel from Hebrew Stories take. Of God-like Kings my Similies to make: No borrow'd Names conceal my living Theam; But Names and Things directly I proclaim. His honest Merit does his Glory raise; Whom that Exalts, let no Man fear to Praise: Of such a Subject no Man need be sby; Vertue's above the Reach of Flattery. He needs no Character, but his own Fame, Nor any flattering Titles, but his Name. William's the Name that's spoke by ev'ry Tongue William's the Darling Subject of my Song. Liften ye Virgins to the Charming Sound, And in Eternal Dances hand it round: Your early Offerings to this Altar bring; Make him at once a Lover and a King.

May he submit to none but to your Arms;

Nor ever be subdu'd, but by your Charms.

May your soft Thoughts for him be all Sublime;

And ev'ry tender Vow be made for him.

May he be first in ev'ry Morning-Thought,

And Heav'n ne'er hear a Pray'r, where he's left out.

May ev'ry Omen, ev'ry boding Dream,

Be Fortunate by mentioning his Name;

May this one Charm Infernal Powers affright,

And guard you from the Terrors of the Night.

May ev'ry chearful Glass, as it goes down,

To William's Health, be Cordials to your own.

Let ev'ry Song be Chorus'd with his Name,
And Musick pay her Tribute to his Fame.
Let ev'ry Poet tune his Artful Verse,
And in Immortal Strains his Deeds rehearse.
And may Apollo never more inspire
The Disobedient Bard with his Seraphick Fire.
May all my Sons their grateful Homage pay;
His Praises sing, and for his Safety pray.

Satyr return to our Unthankful lile, Secur'd by Heavens regard, and William's Toil. To both Ungrateful, and to both Untrue; Rebels to God, and to Good Nature too.

If e'er this Nation be Distress'd again,
To whomsoe'er they cry, they'll cry in vain:
To Heav'n they cannot have the Face to look:
Or if they should, it would but Heaven provoke.
To hope for Help from Man would be too much;
Mankind would always tell 'em of the Dutch:

How

How they came here our Freedoms to maintain, Were Paid, and Curs'd, and Hurry'd home again. How by their Aid we first dissolv'd our Fears, And then our Helpers damn'd for Foreigners. 'Tis not our English Temper to do better; For Englishmen think ev'ry Man their Debtor.

'Tis worth observing, that we ne'er complained Of Foreigners, nor of the Wealth they gain'd, Till all their Services were at an end. Wise Men affirm it is the English way, Never to Grumble till they come to Pay; And then they always think, there Temper's such, The work too little, and the Pay too much.

As frighted Patients, when they want a Cure, Bid any Price, and any Pain endure; But when the Doctor's Remedies appear, The Cure's too Easie, and the Price too Dear.

Great Portland ne'er was banter'd when he strove For Us his Master's kindest Thoughts to move.

We ne'er Lampoon'd his Conduct when employ'd King James's Secret Counsels to divide:

Then we cares'd him as the only Man,

Which could the doubtful Oracle explain:

The only Hushai able to repel,

The dark Designs of our Achitophel.

Compar'd his Master's Courage, to his Sense;

The Ablest Statesman, and the Bravest Prince.

Ten Years in English Service he appeared,
And gain'd his Master's, and the World's Regard:
But tis not England's Custom to Reward.
The Wars are over, England needs him not;
Now he's a Dutchman and the Lord knows what.

Schonberg, the Ablest Soldier of his Age,
With Great Nassau did in our Cause engage:
Both joyn'd for England's Rescue and Desence,
The greatest Captain, and the greatest Prince.
With what Applause his Stories did we tell?
Stories which Europe's Volumes largely swell.
We counted him an Army in our Aid:
Where he commanded, no Man was asraid.
His Actions with a constant Conquest shine,
From Villa-Vitiosa to the Rhine.
France, Flanders, Germany, his Fame consess;
And all the World was fond of him, but Us.
Our Turn sirst serv'd, we grudg'd him the Command.
Witness the Grateful Temper of the Land!

We blame the K——that he relies too much On Strangers, Germans, Hugonots, and Dutch; And feldom would his great Affairs of State, To English Councellors Communicate. The Fact might very well be answer'd thus; He has so often been betray'd by us, He must have been a Madman to rely On English Gentlemen's Fidelity. For laying other Arguments aside, This Thought might mortise our English Pride,

That Foreigners have faithfully Obey'd him,
And none but English have e'er Betray'd him.
They have our Ships and Merchants bought and sold,
And barter'd English Blood for Foreign Gold.
First to the French they sold our Turkey Fleet,
And Injur'd Talmarsh next, at Camaret.
The King himself is shelter'd from their Snares,
Not by his Merit, but the Crown he wears.
Experience tells us 'tis the English way,
Their Benefactors always to betray.

And left Examples should be too remote, A Modern Magistrate of Famous Note. Shall give you his own History by Rote. I'll make it out, deny it he that can, His Worship is a True-Born-Englishman, In all the Latitude that empty Word By Modern Acceptation's understood-The Parish-Books his Great Descent Record, And now he bopes ere long to be a Lord. And truly as things go, it would be pity But fuch as he should Represent the City: While Robb'ry for Burnt-Offering he brings, And gives to God what he has stole from Kings: Great Monuments of Charity he raises, And good St. Magnus whistles out his Praises. To City-Goals he grants a Jubilee, And hires Huzza's from his own Mobilee.

Lately he wore the Golden Chain and Gown, With which Equipp'd, he thus harangu'd the Town.

His Fine Speech, &c.

With Clouted Iron Shoes, and Sheep-Skin Breeches, More Rags than Manners, and more Dirt than Riches, from driving Cows and Calves to Layton-Market, While of my Greatness there appear'd no Spark yet, Schold I come, to let you see the Pride With which Exalted Beggars always Ride.

Born to the Needful Labours of the Plow,
he Cart-Whip Grac'd me, as the Chain does now.
Nature and Fate in doubt what Course to take,
Whether I should a Lord or Plough-Boy make;
Kindly at last resolv'd they wou'd promote me,
and first a Knave, and then a Knight they Vote me.
What Fate appointed, Nature did prepare,
and furnish'd me with an exceeding Care,
To fit me for what they design'd to have me;
and ev'ry Gift but Honesiy they gave me.

And thus Equipp'd, to this Proud Town I came, in quest of Bread, and not in quest of Fame. Slind to my suture Fate, a humble Boy, free from the Guilt and Glory I enjoy. The Hopes which my Ambition entertain'd, Were in the Name of Foot-Boy, all contain'd. The Greatest Hights from Small Beginnings rise; The Gods were Great on Earth, before they reach'd the Skies.

Was always to be bountiful inclin'd:
Whether by his ill Fate or Fancy led,
First took me up, and furnish'd me with Bread:
The little Services he put me to,
Seem'd Labours, rather than were truly so.
But always my Advancement he design'd;
For 'twas his very Nature to be kind.
Large was his Soul, his Temper ever free;
The best of Masters and of Men to me.
And I who was before decreed by Fate,
To be made Infamous as well as Great,
With an obsequious Diligence obey'd him,
Till trusted with his All, and then betray'd him.

All his past Kindnesses I trampled on, Ruin'd his Fortunes to erect my own. So Vipers in the Bosom bred begin, To his at that Hand sirst which took them in. With eager Treach'ry I his Fall pursu'd, And my first Trophies were Ingratitude.

Ingratitude, the worst of Humane Guilt,
The basest Action Mankind can commit;
Which like the Sin against the Holy Ghost,
Has least of Honour, and of Guilt the most;
Distinguish'd from all other Crimes by this,
That 'tis a Crime which no Man will consess.
That Sin alone, which shou'd not be forgiv'n
On Earth, altho' perhaps it may in Heav'n.

And how shou'd I be to a second true?

The Publick Trust came next into my care,

And I to use them scurvily prepare:

My Needy Sov'reign Lord I play'd upon,

And lent him many a Thousand of his own;

For which great Int'rests I took care to Charge,

And so my ill-got Wealth became so large.

My Predecessor Judas was a Fool,
Fitter to ha' been whipt and sent to School,
Then Sell a Saviour: Had I been at Hand,
His Master had not been so cheap trapann'd;
I would ha' made the eager Jews ha' found,
For Thirty Pieces, Thirty thousand Pound.

My Cousin Ziba, of Immortal Fame,

(Ziba and I shall never want a Name:)

First-born of Treason, Nobly did advance

His Masters Fall, for his Inheritance.

By whose keen Arts old David first began

To break his sacred Oath to Jonathan:

The Good Old King 'tis thought was very loth

To break his Word, and therefore broke his Oath.

20 a's a Traytor of some Quality,

21 Ziba might ha' been inform'd by me:

He d I been there, he ne'er had been Content

With half th' Estate, nor half the Government.

n our late Revolution 'twas thought strange, at I of all Mankind shou'd like the Change, But they who wonder'd at it, never knew,
That in it I did my old Game pursue:
Nor had they heard of Twenty thousand Pound.
Which ne'er was lost, yet never could be found.

Thus all things in their turn to Sale I bring,
God and my Master first, and then the King:
Till by successful Villanies made Bold,
I thought to turn the Nation into Gold;
And so to Forg—y my Hand I bent,
Not doubting I cou'd gull the Government;
But there was russed by the Parliament.
And is I scap'd the unhappy Tree to Climb,
'Twas want of Law, and not for want of Crime.

But my * Old Friend, who Printed in my Face *The Date A needful Competence of English Brass,
Having more Business yet for me to do,
And loth to lose his trusty Servant so,
Manag'd the Matter with such Art and Skill,
As sav'd his Hero, and threw out the B——II.

And now I'm Grac'd with unexpected Honours,
For which I'll certainly abuse the Donors:
Knighted, and made a Tribune of the People,
Whose Laws and Properties I'm like to keep well:
The Custos Rotulorum of the City,
And Captain of the Gaurds of their Banditte.
Surrounded by my Catchpoles, I declare
Against the Needy Debtor open War.
I Hang poor Thieves for stealing of your Pelf,
And suffer none to Rob you, but my self.

The King Commanded me to help Reform ye, And how I'll do't, Miss shall inform ye. keep the best Seraglio in the Nation, And hope in time to bring it into Fashion. No Brimstone Whore need fear the Lash from me, That part I'll leave to Brother Jeffery. Dur Gallants need not go abroad to Rome, 'll keep a Whoring Jubilee at Home. Whoring's the Darling of my Inclination; A'n't I a Magistrate for Reformation? or this my Praise is fung by ev'ry Bard, or which Bridewel wou'd be a just Reward, n Print my Panegyricks fill the Sreet, and hired Goal-Birds their Huzza's Repeat. Some Charity's contriv'd to make a show, Have taught the Needy Rabble to do fo; Whose empty Noise is a Mechanick Fame, Since for Sir Beelzebub they'd do the same.

The Conclusion.

Then let us boast of Ancestors no more,
Or Deeds of Heroes done in Days of Yore,
latent Records of the Ages past,
chind the Rear of Time, in long Oblivion plac'd,
or if our Virtues must in Lines descend,
he Merit with the Families would end:
nd Intermixtures would most fatal grow;
or Vice would be Hereditary too;

Da

(40)

The tainted Blood wou'd of Necessity, In voluntary Wickedness convey.

Vice, like Ill-Nature, for an Age or two,
May feem a Generation to pursue:
But Virtue seldom does regard the Breed;
Fools do the Wise, and Wise Men Fools succeed.
What is't to us, what Ancestors we had?
If Good, what better? Or what worse, if Bad?
Examples are for Imitation set,
Yet all Men follow Virtue with Regret.

Cou'd but our Ancestors retrieve their Fate,
And see their Off-spring thus Degenerate;
How we contend for Birth and Names unknown,
And Build on their past Actions, not our own;
They'd Cancel Records, and their Tombs Deface,
And openly disown the Vile Degenerate Race:
For Fame of Families is all a Cheat,
Tis Personal Virtue only makes us Great.

THE

Mock Mourners.

A

SATYR.

By way of ELLEGY on King WILLIAM.

TO THE.

QUEEN.

MADAM,

Our Majesty has so often declared Your just Concern for the Nation's Loss, and Your Value for the Memory of the te King: You have so publickly approved his Conduct, so vibly moved in the same Steps, and pursued the wise Measures this Your Glorious Ancestor, that it cannot be thought spleasing to Your Majesty, to reprehend those who make a lock at the Sorrow of Your Majesty and Three Nations. Your Majesty was the first who told us he could not be sficiently lamented. May those who are not of the same sind sind no Favour with your Majesty, nor their Maker, I they repent that Sin against his Merit, and the Voice of ir Native Country.

E 2

Here

The PREFACE

Here are no reflections upon your Majesties Houshould, or Council, or Courts of Justice, or either House of Parliament, and consequently no offence against Your Royal Proclamation. 'Twou'd be an Affront to Your Majesty to imagine there were any under all those Heads of your Government could deserve the Reproof of the following Satyr.

Your Majesty has an entire Possession of the Hearts of Your People, but their Affection is still the deeper rooted by that generous Sorrow you have expressed for the Loss of him to whom they owe the full Possession of their Liberty under Your Government.

How they can be faithful Subjects to Your Majesty that were not true Friends to such a King, is a Mystery out of human Understanding, since the Happiness we enjoy by Your Government proceeds from his defending us against those who would not have had Your Meight to Price of the Price of the House had Your Meight to Price of the House h

not have had Your Majesty to Reign over us.

'Twoud be a Crime against Your Majesty, which deserv'd mo Pardon, to suggest you should be offended at that part of the Satyr which points at our Immoralities: Your Majesty's Example, as well as Command, has encourag'd us all to declare Wat against Vice, and there we are sure of Your Royal Protection.

For the rest, if an extraordinary Concern for the Glorion Memory of the late King has led the Author into any Excesses he begs Your Majesty would place it to the Account of that just Passion every honest Man retains for his extraordinary Merit believing that no Man san have an Indifferency for the Memory of King William, and at the same time have any Desir

for the Welfare of his Native Country.

While Your Majesty pursues the true Interest of England the Protestant Religion, and the Walfare of Europe, as a did, you will have the same Enemies that he had, the same to oppose You abroad, and repreach You at home; but You me thereby engage all Your honest Subjects to adhere the sirmer their Duty, all Your Protestant Neighbours to depend up Your Protection, and God shall Crown Your Majesty and the Nations with His Special Favour and Benediction. Amen.

TH

Su

 Γ_1

uj

Gr

W

No

He n I

THE

ne

Hr le-

ey et. ere ne

1d

20

le,

ar

0114

011

es.

ín

d

Mock Mourners, &c.

Such has been this l'Il-Natur'd Nations Fate,
Always to see their Friends and Foes too late;
By Native Pride, and want of Temper led,
Never to value Merit till 'tis Dead:
And then Immortal Monuments they raise,
And Damn their former Follies by their Praise;
With just Reproaches Rail at their own Vice,
And Mourn for those they did before despise:
So they who Moses Government desied,
Sincerely sorrow'd for him when he Died.

And so when Britain's Genius fainting lay, Summon'd by Death, which Monarchs must obey: Trembling, and Soul-less half the Nation stood, Upbraided by their own Ingratitude.

They, who with true born Honesty before, Grudg'd him the Trophies he so justly wore, Were, with his Fate, more than himself dismay'd, Not for their King, but for themselves asraid. He had their Rights and Liberties restor'd, In Battle purchas'd, and by Peace secur'd:

And

And they with English Gratitude began,
To feel the Favour and despise the Man.
But when they saw that his Protection ceas'd,
And Death had their Deliverer posses;
How Thunder-struck they stood? What cries they rais'd,
They look't like Men distracted and Amaz'd:
Their Terror did their Conscious Guilt explain,
And wish't their injur'd Prince Alive again.
They Dream't of Halters, Gibbets and of Jails,
French Armies, Popery and Prince of Wales,
Descents, Invasions, Uproars in the State,
Mobs, Irish Massacres, and God knows what
Imaginary Enemies appear'd,
And all they knew they Merited they Fear'd.

'Tis strange that Pride and Envy should prevail,
To make Men's Sense as well as Virtue fail:
That where they must depend they should abuse,
And slight the Man they were afraid to lose.

But William had not Govern'd Fourteen Year,
To be an unconcern'd Spectator here:
His Works, like Providence, were all Compleat,
Which made a Harmony we Wonder'd at.
The Legislative Power he set Free,
And led them step by step to Liberty,
'Twas not his Fault if they cou'd not Agree.
Impartial Justice He Protected so,
Their Laws did in their Native Channels slow,
From whence our sure Establishment begun,
And William laid the first Foundation Stone:

(45)

On which the stately Fabrick soon appear'd,
How cou'd they sink when such a Pilot steer'd?
He taught them due desences to prepare,
And make their suture Peace their present care:
By him directed, Wisely they Decreed,
What Lines shou'd be expell'd, and what succeed;
That now he's Dead, there's nothing to be done,
But to take up the Scepter he laid down.

The Circle of this Order is so round, so Regular as nothing can confound: In Truth and Justice all the Lines commence, And Reafon is the vast Circumference: William's the moving Centre of the whole, had else a Body been without a Soul. Fenc't with just Laws, impregnable it stands, And will for ever last in Honest Hands; For Truth and Justice are th' Immortal Springs, Give Life to Constitutions and to Kings: In either Case, if one of these decay, These can no more Command, than those obey: Right is the only Fountain of Command, the Rock on which Authority must stand. And if executive Power steps awry, On either hand, it splits on Tyranny: Oppression is a Plague on Mankind fent, fests the Vitals of a Government. Convulsions follow, and such Vapours rife, he Constitution Suffocates and Dies: aw is the Grand specific to restore, and unobstructed, never fails to Cure,

01

All other Remedies compar'd to that, Are Tampering and Quacking with the State.

The Constitution's like a vast Machine, That's full of curious Workmanship within : Where tho' the parts unweildly may appear, It may be put in Motion with a Hair. The Wheels are Officers and Magistrates, By which the whole contrivance operates: Laws are the Weights and Springs which make it move, Wound up by Kings as Managers above; And if they'r screw'd too high, or down too low, The Movement goes too fast or else too slow. The Legislators are the Engineers. Who when 'tis of out order make Repairs: The People are the Owners, 'twas for them The first Inventor drew the Ancient Scheme. 'Tis for their Benefit it works, and they The Charges of maintaining it defray; And if their Governours unfaithful prove, They, Engineers or Managers remove, Unkind Contention fometimes there appears, Between the Managers and Engineers; Such Strife is always to the Owners wrong, And once it made the work stand still too long: Till William came and loos'd the fatal Chain, And fet the Engineers to work again; And having made the wondrous thing compleat, To Anne's unerring Hand he left the Helm of State.

Anne, like Elisha, when just William went, Receiv'd the Mantle of his Government; (47)

nd by Divine Concession does inherit, Double Portion of his Ruling Spirit. he Dying Hero loaded with Renown Cave her the Nation's Bleffing with the Crown, from God, the People, and the Laws her own. old her that he had Orders from on high, o lay aside the Government and Dye; What he had Fought for, gave her up in Peace, nd chear'd her Royal Heart with Prospect of Success. While he, who Death in all its Shapes had feen, With full Composure quiet and serene, affive and undiforder'd at his Fate, witted the English Throne without Regret. lo Conscious Guilt disturb'd his Royal Breast, Calm as the Regions of Eternal Rest; Before his Life went out, his Heaven came in, for all was bright without and clear within. The bleft Rewards did to his fight appear; The Passage easie, and the Prospect near; His parting Eye the gladfom Regions spied, fust so, before, his Dear Maria Dyed.

His High concern for England he express't,
England, the Darling of his Royal Breast.
The Transports of his parting Soul he spent,
Her disunited Parties to Lament,
His wishes then suplied his want of Power,
And Pray'd for them, for whom he Fought before.

Speak Envy, if you can, inform us what Cou'd this unthankful Nation Murmur at? But Discontent was always our Disease;
For English-men what Government can please?
We always had our Sons of Belial here,
Who knew no God nor Government to Fear:
No Wonder these dislik'd his Gentle sway,
Unwilling Homage to his Scepter Pay,
And only did for want of Power, Obey.

Some foft excuse for them we might contrive, Had he not been the Gentlest Prince Alive : Had he not born with an exalted Mind, All that was disobliging and unkind. Peaceful and Tender Thoughts his Mind possest, And High Superiour Love conceal'd the rest: Our Discontents would oft his Pity move, But all his Anger was supprest by Love. That Heaven-born Passion had subdu'd his Soul, Possest the greatest part, and Rul'd the whole: This made him strive his People to possess, Which he had done, had he oblig'd 'em less. He knew that Titles are but empty things, And Hearts of Subjects are the Strength of Kings; Justice and Kindness were his constant care, He scorn'd to Govern Mankind by their Fear.

Their Universal Love he strove to Gain,
'Twas hard that we should make him strive in vain:
That he should here our English Humours sind,
And we, that he had sav'd, shou'd be unkind.
By all endearing Stratagems he strove,
To draw us by the secret Springs of Love:

always was below him to Refent.

Nature was never feen in such excess,

Il Fury when Abroad, at Home all Peace:

War all Fire and Blood, in Peace inclin'd

o all that's Sweet and Gentle, Soft and Kind,

gratidude for this, must needs Commence,

want of Honesty, or want of Sense.

When Kings to Luxury and Ease Resign'd,
heir Native Country's just Desence declin'd;
his High-pretending Nation us'd to plead,
Vhat they'd perform, had they a King to Lead:
Vhat wondrous Actions had by them been done,
Vhen they had Martial Monarchs to Lead on?
Ind if their Prince would but with France make War,
Vhat Troops of English Heroes wou'd appear?

William the bottom of their Courage found, also, like themselves, meer emptiness and sound: or call'd by Fate to Fight for Christendom, They sent their King Abroad, and staid at Home; Visely declin'd the hazards of the War, To Nourish Faction and Disorders here. Wraptin luxurious Plenty they Debauch, and load their Active Monarch with Reproach: Backward in Deeds, but of their Censures free, and slight the Actions which they dare not see. At Home they bravely teach him to Command, and judge of what they are afraid to mend:

Against the Hand that saves them they exclaim, And curse the Strangers, tho' they Fight for them. Tho' some who wou'd excuse the matter, say, They did not grudge their Service, but their Pay.

Where are the Royal Bands that now advance, To spread his dreadful Banners into France? Britannia's Noble fons her Interest fly, And Foreign Heroes must their place supply; Much for the Fame of our Nobility. Posterity will be asham'd to hear, Great Britain's Monarch did in Arms appear, And scarce an English Nobleman was there. Our Ancestors had never Conquer'd France, For Kingdoms seldom are subdu'd by Chance, Had Talbott, Vere, and Montacute with-held, The Glory, for the danger of the Field. Had English Honesty been kept alive, The Ancient English Glory would survive. But Gallantry and Courage will decline, Where Pride and Confederate Vices joyn. Had we kept up the the Fame of former Years, Landen had been as Famous as Poictiers; Ormand and Effex had not Fought alone, The only English Lords our Verse can own: The only Peers of whom the World can fay, That they for Honour Fought, and not for Pay.

A Regimented Few we had indeed,

VVho ferv'd for neither Pride nor Fame, but Bread:

Some Bully L ______ s, Protection P _____ s, and some

VVent out, because they dare not stay at Home.

Loaded with Noxious Vices they appear,

frandal to the Nation and the War:

Heroes in Midnight-scuffles with the Watch,

And Lewd enough an Army to Debauch.

Test with cool Murthers and from Justice sled,

Pursu'd by Blood, in Drunken Quarrels shed:

vain they strive with Bravery to appear,

Pur where there's Guilt, there always will be Fear.

These are the Pillars of the English Fame,

such Peers as History must blush to Name.

When future Records to the VVorld relate,

Marsaglia's Field and Gallant Schomberg's Fate:

Varwick was Captive made, it was severe,

ate took the Honest Man, and left the Peer.

The VVorld owes Fame for Ages long before,

To the great Stile of Warwick which he bore:

But when we come the Branches to compare,

Tis a Hero Ancestor, a Bully Heir:

The Vertues the Posterity for sake,

And all their Gallant Blood is dwindled to a Rake.

More might be said, but Satyr stay thy Rhimes,

And mix not his Missortunes with his Crimes;

Ve need not Rake the Ashes of the Dead,

There's living Characters enough to Read.

How cou'd this Nation ever think of Peace?
Or how look up to Heaven for Success?
VVhile lawless Vice in Fleets and Camps appear'd,
And Oaths were louder than their Cannon heard?
No wonder English Israel has been said,
Before the French Philistine's Fleet t' ha' fled.

VVhile

While T-ton Embrac'd with Whores appear'd, And Vice it self the Royal Navy Steer'd.

William oppos'd their Crimes with steady Hand, By his Example First, and then Command, Prompted the Laws their Vices to suppress, For which no doubt the Guilty Lov'd bim less.

Ye Sons of Envy, Railers at the Times, Be bold, like Englishmen, and own your Crimes: For shame put on no Black, but let us fee, Your Habits always, and your Tongues agree: Envy ne'er Blushes: Let it not be said, You Hate him Living, and you Mourn him Dead : No Sorrow show, where you no Love profess, There are no Hypocrites in Wickedness. Great Bonfiers make, and tell the World y'are glad Y'have lost the greatest Blessing are you had: So Mad-Men fing in Nakedness and Chains, For when the Senfe is gone, the Song remains. So Thankless Israel, when they were set free, Reproacht the Author of their Liberty: And whisht themselves in Egypt back again; What pity 'twas they wisht, or wisht in vain?

Stop Satyr, let Britannia now relate Her William's Character, and her own Fate; Let her to him a grateful Trophy raise, She best can sigh his Loss, that sung his Praise.

BRITANNIA.

Of all my Sons by Tyranny bereft, Widow desolate and Childless left, y Violence and Injury opprest, To Heaven I cast my Eyes, and figh'd the reft. need but figh, for I was always heard, nd William on my welcome Shores appear'd. With Wings of speed to rescue me he came, And all my Sorrows vanasht into Flame. New Joys sprung up, new Triumphs now abound, And all my Virgin Daughtershear the found: Eternal Dances move upon my Plains, And youthful Blood springs in my ancient Veins. With open Arms I yielded my Embrace, And William faw the Beauties of my Face. He had before the knowledge of my Charms, for he had my Maria in his Arms. While he remain'd, I gave eternal Spring, Made him my Son, my Darling, and my King; While all the wondring World my Choice approve. Congratulate his Fate, and justifie my Love.

Of British Blood, in Belgian Plains he liv'd,
My only Foreign Off-spring that surviv'd.
Batavian Climates nourisht him a while,
Too great a Genius for so damp a Soil:
And freely then surrendred him to me,
For wise Men freely will the Fates obey.
Yet in my William they had equal Share,
And he desended them with equal Care.

They were the early Trophies of his Sword,
His Infant Hand their Liberty restor'd.
His Nurse, the Belgick Lion, roar'd for Aid,
And planted early Lawrels on his Head.
His easie Victories amaz'd Mankind;
We wonder'd what the dreadful Youth design'd.
Fearless he Fought his Country to set Free,
And with his Sword Cut out their Liberty.
The Journals of his Actions always seem'd
So wonderful, as if the World had dream'd:
So swift, so full of Terror he went on,
He was a Conqueror before a Man.

The Bourbon Sword, tho' it was brighter far, Yet drawn for Conquest, and oppressive War; Had all the Triumphs of the World engrost, But quickly all those Triumphs to him lost. Justice to William early Trophies brought; William for Truth and Justice always fought.

He was the very Mystery of War,
He gain'd by't when he was not Conqueror.
And if his Enemies a Battle won,
He might be beaten, they wou'd be undone.

Ant aus like, from every Fall he rose,
Strengthen'd with double Vigour to oppose;
Those Actions Mankind judge Unfortunate,
Serv'd but as secret Steps to make him Great.
Then let them boast their Glory at Landen,
In vain th' Embattel'd Squadrons crowded in,
Theirs was the Victory, the Conquest mine.

Of all the Heroes, Ages past adore, ack to the first Great Man, and long before; tho' Virtue has sometimes with Valour join'd, the Barren World no Parallel can find.

If back to Israel's Tents I should retire, and of the Hebrew Heroes there enquire, find no hand did Judah's Scepter wear, somes up to William's Modern Character. Namire's Gygantick Towers he o'erthrew; David did less when he Goliah slew. Here's no Uriah's for Adult'ry slain, sor Oaths forgot to faithful Jonathan. Ind if to Jesse's Grandson we ha' recourse, Villiam his Wisdom had without his Whores.

Joshua might still ha' staid on Jordan's Shore, sust he, as William did the Boyne, pass o'er. Ilmighty Power was forc'd to interpose, and frighted both the Water and his Foes. But had my William been to pass that Stream, sod needed not to part the Waves for him. Not Forty thousand Canaanites cou'd stand; a spight of Waves or Canaanites he'd land. Buch Streams ne'er stemm'd his Tide of Victory; so, not the Stream; no, nor the Enemy.

His Bombs and Cannon wou'd ha' made the Wall, Vithout the Help of Jewish Rains Horns, fall. Then his dear Israel from their Foes had fled, Icause of stoln Spoils by Achan hid:

He'd

He'd ne'er, like Joshua, on the Ground ha' laid, He'd certainly ha' fought as well as pray'd.

The Sun would rather ha' been thought to stay, Amaz'd to see how soon he won the Day, Than to give time the Canaanites to slay.

The greatest Captains of the Ages past,
Debauch'd their Fame with Cruelty at last:
William the Tyrants only would subdue;
These conquer'd Kings, and then the People too:
The Subjects reap'd no Profit for their Pains,
And only chang'd their Masters, not their Chains;
Their Victories did for themselves appear,
And made their Peace as dreadful as the War:
But William sought Oppression to destroy,
That Mankind might in Peace the World enjoy.

The Pompeys, Casars, Scipio's, Alexanders,
Who croud the World with Fame, were great Com
(mander

These too brought Blood and Ruin with their Arms, But William always sought on other Terms:
Terror indeed might in his Front appear,
But Peace and Plenty sollow'd in his Rear:
And if Oppression forc'd him to contend,
Calmness was all his Temper, Peace his End:
He was the only Man we e'er saw sit
To regulate the World, or Conquer it.
Who can his Skill in Government Gainsay,
He that can England's brittle Scepter sway,
Where Parties too much Rule, and Kings obey?

He always Reign'd by Gentleness and Love, In Emblem of the Government above.

Vote me not Childless then in Christendom, yet have Sons in my suspended Womb; nd till just Fate such due Provision makes, Daughter my Protection undertakes. rowns know no Sexes, and my Government o either kind admits a just Descent ucens have to me been always fortunate, er since my English Phanix rul'd the State; Tho made my People rich, my Country great.

Satyr be just, and when we lash their Crimes, ingle some Tears for William with thy Rhimes. ho' a Baseness and Ingratitude appear, hank Heaven that we ha' weeping Millions here: hen speak our hearty Sorrows if you can, perior Grief in seeling Words explain: ccents that wound, and all the Senses numb, and while they speak may strike the Hearer dumb; ch Grief as never was for King before, and such as never, never shall be more.

See how Authority comes weeping on, id view the Queen lamenting on his Throne. ith just regret she takes the Sword of State, ot by her Choice directed, but his Fate; cepts the sad Necessity with Tears, d mournfully for Government prepares. e Peoples Acclamations she receives, th sadn'd Joy, and a Content that grieves.

View

View next the sad Assemblies that appear,
To tell their Grief for Him, and Joy for Her.
The first confounds the last with such Excess,
They hardly can their noble Thoughts express.
Th' illustrious Troops address her to condole,
And speak such Grief as wounds her to the Soul:
They lodge their Sorrows in the Royal Breast;
The Harbour where the Nation looks for Rest.

Next these, the Representatives arise,
With all the Nations Sorrow in their Eyes.
The Epithets they righteously apply
To the Restorer of their Liberty,
Are Tokens of their Sense and Honesty.
For as a Body we were always true,
But 'tis our Parties that our Peace undo.
Who can like them the Peoples Grief express;
They shew her all the Tokens of Excess:
O'erwhelm'd with Sorrow, and suppress with Care,
They place the Nation's Resuge now in her.
Nothing but her Succession could abate
The Nation's Sorrow for their Monarchs Fate:
And nothing but his Fate cou'd their true Joy
For her Succession lessen or destroy.

The Civil Sword to her, as Heaven saw sit, With general Satisfaction they commit: How can it in a Hand like hers miscarry? But who shall for us weild the Military? Who shall the jarring Generals unite; First teach them to Agree, and then to Fight?

ho shall renew'd Alliances contrive, d keep the vast Confederacies alive? ho shall the growing Gallick Force subdue? was more than all the World, but him, cou'd do.

sighs for departed Friends are senseless things, t'tis not so when Nations mourn for Kings. hen wounded Kingdoms such a Loss complain, Nature never can repair again; to Tyrant Grief, like Love, obeys no Laws, t blindly views th' Essect, and not the Cause.

Dark are the Works of Sovereign Providence, d often clash with our contracted Sense. t if we might of Heavens Decrees debate, d with our Makers Works expostulate, hy should he form a Mind supremely great, d to his Charge committee Reins of Fate, d at on hasty Blow the World defeat? Blow so sudden, so severe and swift, e had no time for Supplication left; if Almighty Power had been asraid, the Prayers would by such Multitudes be made; the Moses's wou'd to his Altars go, whom he never did, or would say no; hardly could know how to strike the Blow.

For Prayer fo much the Sovereign Power commands, a God himself sometimes as conquer'd stands, d calls for Quarter at the VVrestler's Hands.

How Strenuous then had been the Sacred Strife,
While all the kneeling World had begg'd his Life,
With all that Earnestness of Zeal, and more
Than ever Nation begg'd for King before?
See how the neighbouring Lands his Fame improve,
And by their Sorrows testific their Love;
Sprinkle his Memory with grateful Tears,
And hand his Glory to succeeding Years.

With what Contempt will English Men appear, When future Ages read his Character?
They'll never bear to hear in time to come,
How he was lov'd abroad, and scora'd at home.
The World will scarce believe it cou'd be true,
And Vengeance must such Insolence pursue.
Our Nation will by all Men be abhorr'd,
And William's juster Fame be so restor'd.

Posterity, when Histories relate
His Glorious Deeds, will ask, What Giant's that?
For common Vertues may Mens Fame advance,
But an immoderate Glory turns Romance.
Its real Merit does it self undo,
Men talk it up so high, it can't be true:
So William's Life, encreas'd by doubling Fame,
Will drown his Actions to preserve his Name.
The Annals of his Conduct they'll revise,
As Legends of Impossibilities.
'Twill all a Life of Miracles appear,
Too great for Him to do, or Them to hear.

d if some faithful Writer shou'd set down, to what Uneasmess he wore the Crown, hat thankless Devil had the Land possest; is will be more prodigious than the rest. the Indignation 'twill their Minds inspire, draise the Clory of his Actions higher. e Records of their Fathers they'll Deface, d blush to think they sprung from such a Race, ey'll be asham'd their Ancestors to own, I strive their Fathers Follies to atone. w Monuments of Gratitude they'll raise, I Crown his Memory with Thanks and Praise.

hou, Satyr, shall the grateful Few rehearse, I solve the Nations Credit in thy Verse; balm his Name with Characters of Praise, Fame's beyond the Power of Time to rase.

rom him let future Monarchs learn to Rule, make his lasting Character their School. he who wou'd in time to come be Great, nothing now to do but imitate. dying Parents when they come to bless, h to their Children only his success. their Instructions very well may end, am's Example only recommend, leave the Youth his History t' attend.

t we have here an Ignominious Crowd, boast their Native Birth and English Blood; se Breasts with Envy and Contention burn, now rejoyce when all the Nations mourn:

Their

Their awkward Triumphs Impudently Sing; Infult the Ashes of their injur'd King; Rejoice at the Disasters of his Crown; And Drink the Horse's Health that threw him down.

Blush, Satyr, when such Crimes we must reveal, And draw a filent Curtain to conceal. Actions fo vile shall ne'er debauch our Song : Let Heaven alone, tho' Justice suffers long. Her Leaden Wings, and Iron Hands, may show She will be certain, tho' she may be flow. His Foreign Birth was made the Fam'd Pretence, Which gave our Home-born Englishman Offence. But Discontent's the antient English Fashion, The Universal Blemish of the Nation. And 'tis a Question, whether God could make That King whom every Englishman would like? Nor is it any Paradox to fay, William had more of English Blood than they; The Royal Life flow'd in his sprightly Veins, The same that in the Noble Stock remains; The fame which now his Glorious Scepter weilds, To whom three Nations just Obedience yields.

ANNE, the remaining Glory of our Isle, Well she becomes the Royal English Stile: In William's Steps sedately she proceeds, William's a Pattern to Immortal Deeds. Preserves his Memory with generous Care; Forgetting him is Disobliging her; Where shall the murmuring Party then appear!

(63)

here wou'd the Nation, but for her, ha' found fafe a Cure for fuch a sudden Wound?

ad cou'd she but as well the Camp supply,

he World the sooner wou'd their Grief lay by:

It there the fatal Breach is made so wide,

hat Loss can never, never be—supply'd.

Ye Men of Arms, and English Sons of VVar, low learn from him how you may Fight for her; our Grief for him express upon her Foes, lear VVilliam lov'd such Funeral Tears as those.

'Tis William's Glorious Scepter which she bears, ike William she for Liberty appears. he Mounts to Honour by the Steps of Truth, and his Example Imitates in Both.
Tis you must make her blooming Fame Increase,
Tis you must bring her Honour, VVealth and Peace:
And let it once more to the VVorld be seen,
Nothing can make us greater than a Queen.

Reformation of Manners.

A

SATYR.

THE

PREFACE

O Man is qualified to reprove other Mens Faults but he that has none of his own, fay fome People who are loath to be told of their Errors; and 'tis on this Account only that the World has the Trouble of a Preface.

If that be true, the Author freely acknowledges he is the

most unqualified Man in the World to reprove.

That no Man is qualified to reprove other Mens Crimes, who allows himself in the Practice of the same, is very readily granted, and is the very Substance and Foundation of the sollowing Satyr: And on that score, the Author has as good a Title to Animadversion as another, since no Man can charge him with any of the Vices he has reproved.

But instead of Self-defence, he is rather willing to look back on the best Actions of his Life with the Temper of a Penitent, and he wishes all Men would do the like; 'tis the only Way

to make the Satyr Impertinent.

The PREFACE.

For Penitence would all his Verse disarm; The Satyr's answer'd if the Men reform.

But as it happens, the Fact is not true: 'Tis a pretty way for no get rid of the Impertinence of Admonition. If none but Itless Men must reprove others, the Lord ha' Mercy upon all Magistrates; and all our Clergy are undignified and suspendant at a Blow.

Nor does the Satyr assault private Insermity, or pursue Peral Vices; but is bent at those, who pretending to suppress se, or being vested with Authority for that purpose, yet make inselves the shame of their Country, encouraging Wickedness

that very Authority they have to suppress it.

He professes himself sorry, either that Freedom of Speech is dangerous in this Age, or that he is too much a Coward; herwise, some had heard of their Crimes who think thimselves ove the Power of Punishment.

'Tis hard that Vice should have so much shelter from Civil ower; that Reproof should lead the Party to suppress the Poet

ther than the Crime.

And yet his Friends give him over for lost: An Account of bat he has ventur'd to say, to whose Importunity he thinks inself oblig'd to answer with Juvenal.

Difficile est Satyram non scribere. Nam quis Iniqua. Tam Patiens Urbis, tam ferreus ut teneat se?

If any Man is injur'd by the Characters, he is content they would carry their Resentment to what Extremity they please; at if Truth may be on his side, the only way to make him du bem Justice is to Resorm: And he promises to give Testimony their Repentance, as an Amand Honourable in a manner s publick as possible.

Reformation of Manners.

HOW long may Heaven be banter'd by a Nation, With broaken Vows, and Shams of Reformation, And yet forbear to show its Indignation?

Tell me ye Sages, who the Conscience guide,
And Ecclesiastick Oracles divide,
Where do the Bounds of Sovereign Patience end?
How long may People undestroy'd offend?
What Limits has Almighty Power prepar'd,
When Mercy shall be deaf, and Justice heard?

If there's a Being Immortal and Immense,
Who does Rewards and Punishments dispense,
Why is he Passive when his Power's defy'd,
And his Eternal Government's deny'd?
Tell us why he that sits above the Sky,
Unreins no Vengeance, lets no Thunders sly,
When Villains prosper, and successful Vice
Shall human Power controul, and Heavenly Power despite?

If 'tis because the Sins of such a Nation, Are yet too small to conquer his Compassion, Then tell us to what height Mankind may sin, Before Celestial Fury must begin? w their extended Crimes may reach fo high,
ngeance must follow, and of course destroy;
d by the common Chain of Providence,
struction come like Cause and Consequence?

Then fearch the dark Arcana of the Skies,
d, if ye can, unfold these Mysteries:
e clashing Providences reconcile,
he partial Frown, and the unequal Smile.
ell us why some have been destroy'd betimes,
hile Albian's glittering Shores grow black with Crimes?
hy some for early Errors are undone,
me longer still, and longer still, sin on?
Ingland with all her blackening Guilt is spar'd,
and Sodom's lesser Crimes receiv'd a swift Reward?
Ind yet all this be reconcil'd to both,
apartial Justice, and unerring Truth:

Why Ostia stands, and no revenging Hand as yet dismist her from the burthen'd Land: to Plague, no sulpherous Shower her Exit makes, and turns her Silver Thames to Stygian Lakes, Whose uninhabitable Banks might flow Vith Streams as black as her that made 'em so: and as a Monument to suture Times, hould send forth Vapours nauseous as her Crimes; ell us why Carthage sell a Prey to Rome, and mourn the Fate of bright Byzantium; Why antient Troy's embrac'd by Destiny, and Rome, Immortal Rome, to Fate gives way, et Ostia stands, more impious far than they?

3

Where are the Golden Gates of Palistine,
Where High Superior Glory us'd to shine?
The mighty City Millions dwelt within,
Where Heaven's Epitome was to be seen;
God's Habitation, Sacred to his Name,
Magnificent beyond the Voice of Fame:
Those lofty Pinnacles which once were seen
Bright, like the Majesty that dwelt within;
In which Seraphick Glory could reside,
Too great for humane Vision to abide;
Whose glittering Fabrick, God the Architect,
The Sun's less Glorious Light did once reject?

These all ha' left the Iron Hands of Fate, And Heaven's dear Darling City's desolate. No more the facred Place commands our Awe, But all's become a Curse, a Golgotha. The reverend Pile can scarce its Ruins show, Forsook by him whose Glory made it so.

Yet Oftia stands, her impious Towers desie The threatning Comets of the blazing Sky; Foreboding Signs of Ruin she despises, And all her teaching Saviour's Sacrasices; The Jews are Fools, Jerusalem's out-done; We crucisie the Father, they the Son.

Whithin her Sacred Temples are allow'd Worse Jews than those which crucified their God: They kill'd a Man, for they suppos'd him so; These boldly sacrifice the God they know,

His Incarnation Miracles deny, and vilely Banter his Divinity; Their old Imposture, Society, prefer, and the long Voyage of Heaven without a Pilot steer.

Yet Ostia boasts of her Regeneration, and tells us wondrous Tales of Reformation; low against Vice she has been so severe, that none but Men of Quality may Swear: low Publick Lewdness is expell'd the Nation, that Private Whoring may be more in Fashion. low Parish Magistrates, like Pious Elves, et none be Drunk a Sundays but themselves. and Hackney-Coach-men durst not Ply the Street a Sermon-time, till they bad paid the State.

These, Ostia, are the Shams of Reformation,
Vith which thou mock'st thy Maker, and the Nation;
Vhile in thy Streets unpunish'd there ramain
rimes which have yet insulted Heaven in vain;
rimes which our Satyr blushes to review,
and Sins thy Sister Sodom never knew;
sperior Lewdness Crowns thy Magistrates,
and Vice grown grey, usurps the Reverend Seats;
ternal Blasphemies and Oaths abound,
and Bribes among the Senators are found.

Old Venerable Jeph, with trembling Air, acient in Sin, and Father of the Chair, rlook by Vices he had lov'd fo long, a now be vicious only with his Tongue; t talks of antient Lewdness with delight, ad loves to be the Justice of the Night:

His

On Baudy Tales with pleasure he reflects,
And lewdly smiles at Vices he corrects.
The feeble tottering Magistrate appears,
Willing to Wickedness in spite of Years;
Struggles his Age and Weakness to resist,
And sain would sin, but Nature won't assist.

L ____ l, the Pandor of thy Judgment-Seat, Has neither Manners, Honesty, nor Wit, Instead of which, he's plenteously supply'd With Nonfense, Noise, Impertinence, and Pride; Polite his Language, and his flowing Stile, Scorns to suppose Good Manners worth his while; With Principles from Education stor'd, The Drudgery of Decency abhorr'd: The City-Mouth, with Eloquence endu'd, To Mountabank the list'ning Multitude: Sometimes he tunes his Tongue to foft Harangues, To banter Common Halls, and flatter Kings: And all but with an odd indifferent Grace, With Jingle on his Tongue, and Coxcomb in his Fact Definitive in Law, without Appeal, But always ferves the Hand who pays him well: He trades in Justice, and the Souls of Men, And prostitutes them equally to Gain: He has his Publick Book of Rates to show, Where every Rogue the Price of Life may know: And this one Maxim always goes before, He never hangs the Rich, nor faves the Poor. God-like he nods upon the Bench of State; His Smiles are Life, and if he Frown 'tis Fate:

oldly invading Heaven's Prerogative; or with his Breath he kills, or saves alive. raternities of Villains he maintains, rotects their Robberies, and shares the Gains, Who thieve with Toleration as a Trade, and then restore according as they're paid: Vith awkward scornful Phiz, and vile Grimace, he genuine Talents of an ugly Face; Vith haughty Tone insults the Wretch that dies, and sports with his approaching Miseries.

Fur --- e, for so sometimes unrighteous Fate, rects a Mad-man for a Magistrate; quipt with Lendness, Oaths and Impudence, upplies with Vices his defects of Sense; bandon'd to ill manners, he retains lis want of Grace, as well as want of Brains. efore the Boy were off, the Rake began; he Bully then commenc'd, and then the Man. et Nature feems in this to do him wrong, o give no Courage with a faucy Tongue; rom whence this constant Disadvantage flows, e always give the Words, and takes the Blows; ho' often Can'd, he's uninstructed by't; ut still he shews the Scoundrel with the Knight, till scurrilous, and still afraid to Fight. arly debauch'd, in Satan's Steps he mov'd, nd all Mechanick Vices he improv'd: t first he did his Sovereign's Rights invade, nd rais'd his Fortunes by clandelline Trade: ealing of Customs did his Profits bring; nd'twas his Calling to defraud his King a

This is the Man that helps to Rule the State,
The City's New-reforming Magistrate,
To execute the Justice of the Law,
And keep less Villains than himself in Awe;
Take Money of the Rich, and hang the Poor,
And lash the Strumpet he debauch'd before.
So for small Crimes poor Thieves Destruction find,
And leave the Rogues of Quality behind.

Search all the Christian Climes from Pole to Pole, 'And match for Sheriffs S-ple and C-Equal in Character and Dignity, This fam'd for Justice, that for Modesty: By Merit chosen for the Chair of State, This fit for Bridewel, that for Billing [gate; That richly clad to grace the gaudy Day, For which his Father's Creditors must pay; This from the fluxing Bagnio just dismist, Rides out to make himself the City left. From some lascivious Dish-Clout to the Chair, To punish Leudness and Disorders there: The Brute he rides on wou'd his Crimes detest, For that's the Animal, and this the Beaft: And yet some Reformation he began, For Magistrates ne'er bear the Sword in vaiu. Expensive Sinning always he declin'd; To frugal whoring totally resign'd: His Avarice his Appetite opprest, Bafe like the Man, and brutish like the Lust : Concife in Sinning, Nature's Call supplied, And in one Act two Vices gratified.

blige the Lecher and the Nigard too;
lever was Oyster, Beggar, Cinder Whore,
o much cares'd by Magistrate before:
Vhen Men are nice and squeamish in their Lust,
Tis a sign the Vice is low, and wants a Gust:
ut he that's perfect in th' Extreme of Vice,
torns to excite his Appetite by Price.
Our Reformation in his Reign began,
and set the Devil up to mend the Man.
Hore might be said, but, Satyr, stay thy Rhimes.
and mix not his Missortune with his Crimes.

C - n superbly wise and grave of Life, ould every one reform, except his Wife: affive in Vice, he Pimps to his own Fate, o shew himself a Loyal Magistrate. is doubtful who debauch'd the City more, he Maker of the Masque, or of the Whore. or's his Religion less a Masquerade; e always drove a strange mysterious Trade; lith descent Zeal to Church he'll gravely come, praise that God which he denies at Home. cinian Tol --- d's his dear Goftly Priest, ho taught him all Relgion to digeft; ook prudent Care he shou'd not much profess, nd he was ne'er addicted to Excess; nd yet he Covers without Rule or End, Vill fell his Wife, his Master, or his Friend; boundless Avarice a constant Slave, latisfy'd as Death, and greedy as the Grave.

Now, Satyr, let us view the numerous Fry
That must succeeding Maigstrates supply,
And search if suture Years are like to be
Much better taught, or better rul'd, than we.

The Senators of * Hospital Descent, The upper House of Ofia's Parliament, Who from Destruction should their City save, But are as wicked as they should be grave: With Citizens in Petto, who at need, As these do those, so those must these succeed. D____b, the Modern Judas of the Age, Has often try'd in vain to mount the Stage; Profuse in Gifts and Bribes to God and Man. To ride the City Horse, and wear the Chain, His Vices, Ofia, thou hast made thy own, In chusing him, thou writ'st thy own Lampoon: Fancy the haughty Wretch in Chair of State, At once the City's Shame and Magistrate, At Table set, at his right Hand a Whore, Ugly as those which he had kept before; He to do Justice, and reform our Lives, And She receive the Homage of our Wives.

Now, Satyr, give another Wretch his Due, Who's chosen to reform the City too; Hate him ye Friends to Honesty and Sense, Hate him in injur'd Beauty's just Defence;

^{*} Several of our Aldermen have been Blew-Coas-Boys, or Chair

(75)

Knighted Booby Insolent and Base,
Whom Man no Manners gave, and God no Grace;
he Scorn of Women, and the Shame of Men,
atcht at threescore, to innocent Fifteen,
ag-rid with jealous Whimsies let us know,
e thinks he's Cuckold 'cause he should be so:
is vertuous Wife exposes to the Town,
nd sears her Crimes because he knows his own.

Here, Satyr, let them just Reproach abide,
Vho sell their Daughters to oblige their Pride;
The Ch——er——n begins the doleful Jest,
As a Memento Mori to the rest;
Who fond to raise his Generation by't,
And see his Daughter buckl'd to a Knight,
The Innocent unwarily beray'd,
And to the Rascal joyn'd the haples Maid;
The Purchase is too much below the Cost,
For while the Lady's gain'd, the Woman's lost.

What shall we say to common Vices now,
When Magistrates the worst of Crimes allow?
Osia, if e'er thou wilt reform thy Gates,
T must be another set of Magistrates:
In Practice just, and in possession sound;
But God knows where the Men are to be found.
In all thy numerous Streets' tis hard to tell,
Where the sew Men of Faith and Honour dwell:
Poor and despised so seldom they appear,
The Cynick's Lanthorn would be useful here.

No City in the spacious Universe
Boasts of Religion more, or minds it less;
Of Reformation talks, and Government,
Backt with an Hundred Acts of Parliament:
Those useless Scare-Crows of neglected Laws,
That miss th' Effect by missing first the Cause:
Thy Magistrates, who should reform the Town,
Punish the Poor Mens Faults, but hide their own.
Suppress the Players Booths in Smithsteld Fair,
But leave the Cloysters, for their Wives are there,
Where all the Scenes of Leudness do appear.

Satyr, the Arts and Mysteries forbear. Too black for thee to write, or us to hear: No Man, but he that is as vile as they, Can all the Tricks and Cheats of Trade furvey. Some in Clandestine Companies combine, Erect new Stocks to Trade beyond the Line: With Air and empty Names beguile the Town, And raise new Credits first, then cry 'em down : Divide the empty nething into Shares, To fet the Town together by the Ears. The Sham Projectors and the Brokers join, And both the Cully Merchant undermine; First he must be drawn in, and then betray'd, And they demolish the Machine they made: So conjuring Chymists, with their Charm and Spell, Some wond'rous Liquid wond'roufly exhale; But when the gaping Mob their Money pay, The Cheat's Dissolv'd, the Vapour flies away: The wond'ring Bubbles stand amaz'd to fee Their ≥ 3 ey Mountebank'd to Mercury,

some fit out Ships, and double Fraight ensure, and burn the Ships to make the Voyage secure; omiscuous Plunders thro' the World commit, and with the Money buy their safe Retreat.

Others seek out to Africk's Torrid Zone, and search the burning Shores of Serratone: here in unsufferable Heats they fry, and run vast Risques to see the Gold, and die, he harmless Natives basely they trapan, and barter Baubles for the Souls of Men; he Wretches they to Christian Climes bring o'er, to serve worse Heathens than they did before. he Cruelties they suffer there are such, aboyna's nothing, they've out-done the Dutch.

Cortez, Pizarro, Guzman, Penaloe, Tho drank the Blood and Gold of Mexico, ho thirteen Millions of Souls destroy'd, nd left one third of God's Creation void. Birth for Nature's Butchery delign'd, ompar'd to these are merciful and kind; eath could their cruellest Designs fulfil, ood quench'd their Thirst, and it suffic'd to kill: ut these the tender Coup de Grace deny, nd make Men beg in vain for leave to die; o more than Spanish Cruelty inclin'd, orment the Body, and debauch the Mind: he ling'ring Life of Slavery preserve, nd vilely teach them both to Sin and serve. vain they talk to them of Shades below, ley fear no Hell but where such Christians go;

Of Jesus Christ they very often hear,
Often as his Blaspheming Servants Swear;
They hear and wonder what strange Gods they be,
Can bear with Patience such Indignity:
They look for Famines, Plagues, Disease and Death,
Blasts from above, and Earthquakes from beneath:
But when they see regardless Heaven looks on,
They curse our Gods, or think that we have none.
Thus thousands to Religion are brought o'er,
And made worse Devils than they were before.

Satyr, the Men of Drugs and Simples spare,
'Tis hard to search the latent Vices there;
Their Theologicks they may well defend,
They can't deceive who never did pretend.
As to Religion, generally they show
As much as their Profession will allow:
But count them all Confederates of Hell,
Till B—bourn they with one consent expel.
B—bourn our Satyr startles at his Name,
The College Scandal, and the City's Shame:
Not satisfy'd his Maker to deny,
Provokes him with Lampoon and Blasphemy;
And with unpresidented Insolence
Banters a God, and scoss at Providence.

No Nation in the World, but ours, would bear To hear a Wretch Blaspheme the God they fear: His Flesh long since their Altars had adorn'd, And with his Blood appeas'd the Powers he scorn'd. But see the Badge of our Resorming Town, Some cry Religion up, some cry it down;

ome Worship God, and some a God defie, Vith Equal Boldness, equal Liberty; he filent Laws decline the just Debate, sade dumb by the more silent Magistrate; nd both together small distinction put Twixt him that owns a God, and him that owns him not. The Modern Crime 'tis thought no being had, They knew no Atheist when our Laws were made. Tis hard the Laws more Freedom should allow With God above than Magistrates below. B - bourn unpunish'd, may Heaven and Earth defie, Dethrone Almighty Power, Almighty Truth deny, Burlesque the Sacred, High, Unutter'd Name, And impious War with God himself proclaim, While Justice unconcern'd looks calmly on, And B - bourn boafts the Conquests he has won; Infults the Christian Name, and laughs to fee Religion Bully'd by Philosophy. B --- bourn with far less hazard may blaspheme, Than thou may'st, Satyr, trace thy noble Theme; The Search of Vice more Hazard represents From Laws, from Councils, and from P ----Thou may'ft be wicked, and less danger know, Than by informing others they are fo: Thou canst no Peer, no Counsellor, expose, Or dress a vicious M -- ber in his proper Cloaths, But all the Bombs and Canon of the Law, Are foon drawn out to keep thy Pen in awe; By Laws Post Facto thou may'ft foon be flain, And Innuendo's hall thy Guilt explain.

Thou may'st Lammpon, and no Man will resent,
Lampoon but Heaven, and not the P——
Our Trusties and our Well-belov'ds forbear,
Thou'rt free to banter Heaven, and all that's there;
The boldest Flights thou'rt welcome to bestow
O'th' Gods above, but not the Gods below.

B—bourn may banter Heaven, and Afgil, Death,
And Toland Poison Souls with his infected Breath,
No Civil Government resents the Wrong,
But all are touch'd and angry at thy Song.

Thy Friends without the help of Prophesie, Read Goals and Gibbets in thy Destiny; But Courage springs from Truth, let it appear Nothing but Guilt can be the Cause of Fear; Satyr go on, thy keenest Shafts let sly, Truth can be no affront to Honesty; The Guilty only are concern'd, and they Lampoon themselves whene'er they censure thee.

PART II.

THE City's view'd, now Satyr turn thine Eye,
The Country's Vices, and the Court's, survey,
And from Impartial Scrutiny set down,
How much they're both more Vicious than the Town.
How does our Ten Years War with Vice advance?

About as much as it bath done with France.

Ride

kide with the Judge, and view the wrangling Bar, d see how leud our Justice-Merchants are: w Clito comes from instigating Whore, ads for the Man he Cuckold just before; how he Cants, and acts the Ghoffly Father, d brings the Gospel and the Law together; make his Pious Frauds be well receiv'd, quotes that Scripture which he ne'er believ'd. ent in Language, indigent in Sense, pplies his want of Law with Impudence. how he rides the Circuit with the Judge; Law and Lewdness a devoted Drudge. Brace of Female-Clients meet him there, help debauch the Sizes and the Fair: Day he plies the Bar with all his might, nd Revels in St. Edmund's Streets at Night: he Scandal of the Law, his own Lampoon, Lawyer, Merchant, Bully, and Buffoon; drunken Quarrels eager to engage, ll Brother Justice lodg'd him in the Cage: thing the Learned thought could never be, d not the Justice been as drunk as he. pleads of late at Hymen's Nuptial Bar, nd bright Aurelia is Defendant there. Courts thy Nymph to VVed, and make a VVife, nd swears by God he will reform his Life. he folemn Part he might ha' well forboar; Ir she alas! has been, has been a Whore: he pious Dame the fober Saint puts on, nd Clito's in the VVay to be undone.

Casco's debauch'd, 'tis his Paternal Vice; r VVickedness descends to Families:

The tainted Blood the Seeds of Vice convey,
And plants new Crimes before the old decay.
Thro' all Degrees of Vice the Father run,
But sees himself out-sinn'd by either Son;
Whoring and Incest he has understood,
And they subjoin Adultery and Blood.
But some ha' Thought in Both he was Decoy'd,
The Mother that, the Negro this Enjoy'd.

This does the Orphan's Cause devoutly plead, Secures her Money, and her Maidenhead, And then perswades her to defend the Crime, Evade the Guilt, and Banter off the Shame.

Taught by the subtle Counsellor, she shows More nice Distinctions than Ignatius knows; In Matrimony finds a learned flaw,

A Wife in Honour, and a Wife in Law.

- " Choice is the Substance of the Contract made,
- "And mutual Love the only Knot that's ty'd:
- " To these the Laws of Nations must submit;
- And where they fail, the Contract's incomplete.
- " So that if Love and Choice went not before,
- Thus she securely sins with eager Gust,
 And satisfies her Conscience, and her Lust:
 Nor does her Zeal and Piety omit,
 But to the Whore she joins the Jesuit:
 With constant Zeal frequents the House of Prayer,
 To heal her prostituted Conscience there,
 Without Remorse, adjourns with sull Content,
 From his lascivious Arms to th' Sacrament.

The Brother less afraid of Sin than Shame, poubles his Guilt to save his totterring Fame: I was too much Risque for any Man to run, to save that Credit which before was gone: The Innocent lies unrevenged in Death, the stopped the growing Scandal in her Breath, will Time shall lay the horrid Murder bare:

To Bribes can crush the Writs of Error there.

Nor is the Bench less tainted than the Bar:

low hard's that Plague to Cure that's spread so far!

Twill all prescrib'd Authorities reject,

Vhile they're most guilty who shou'd first correct.

Contagious Vice infects the Judgment-Seats,

And Vertue from Authority retreats:

How shou'd she such Society endure?

Vhere she's contemn'd she cannot be secure.

Milo's a Justice, they that made him so shou'd answer for th' oppressive VV rongs he'll do; His Lands almost to Ostia's VV alls extend; And of his heap'd up Thousands there's no end; If Magistrates, as in the Text 'tis clear, Ought to be such as Avarice obhor, This may be known of the Almighty's Mind, That Milo's not the Man the Text design'd.

Satyr be bold, and fear not to expose
The vilest Magistrate the Nation knows:
Let Furius read his Naked Character;
Blush not to write what he should blush to hear;
But let them blush, who in a Christian State
Made such a Devil be a Magistrate.

In Britain's Eastern Provinces he reigns. And ferves the Devil with excessive Pains : The Nation's Shame, and honest Mens surprize. With Drunkard in his Face, and Mad-man in his Eyes. The facred Bench of Justice he Prophanes With a polluted Tongue and bloody Hands: His Intellects are always in a Storm, He frights the People which he shou'd reform. Antipathies may fome Diseases cure, But Vertue can no Contraries endure. All Reformation stops when Vice commands; Corrupted Heads can ne'er have upright Hands. Shameless i'th' Class of Justices he'll swear, And plants the Vices he should punish there. His Mouth's a Sink of Oaths and Blasphemies, And Curfings are his kind Civilities; His fervent Prayrs to Heaven he hourly fends, But tis to damn himself and all his Friends; He raves in Vice, and storms that he's confin'd, And studies to be worse than all Mankind. Extremes of Wickedness are his Delight, And's pleas'd to hear that he's distinguisht by't. Exotick Ways of sinning he improves; We curse and hate, he curses were he loves; So strangely retrograde to all Mankind, If crost he damns himself, if pleas'd his Friend. This is the Man that helps to bless the Nation, And bully Mankind into Reformation: The true Coercive Power of the Law, Which drives the People which it cannot draw; The Nation's Scandal, England's true Lampoon, A Drunken, Whoring, Justicing Buffoon.

With what stupendious Impudence can be unish a Poor Man's Immorality? low shou'd a Vicious Magistrate assent o mend our Manners, or our Government ? low shall new Laws for Reformation pass, Vice the Legislation shou'd posses? To fee Old S --- ly Blafphemy decry, and S - e vote to punish Bribery; ying exploded by a Perjur'd Knight, and Whoring punish'd by a Sodomite; That he the Peoples Freedom shou'd defend, Who had the King and People too trepan'd: oildiers feek Peace Drunkards pohibite VVine, And Fops and Beaus our Politicks refine; These are Absurdities too gross to hide, Which WVise Men wonder at, and Fools deride.

VVhen from the Helm Socinian H—t flies, And all the rest his Tenets stigmatize, And none remain that Jesus Christ denies. Sudas expell'd, Lewd, Lying, C—tts sent home, And Men of Honessy put in their room. Slaspheming B— ls to his Fen-Ditches sent, To bully Justice with a Parliament, Then we shall have a Christian Government. Then shall the wisht for Reformation rise, and Vice to Vertue sall a Sacrifice.

And with the Nauseous Rabble that retire, urn out the Bawdy, Saucy, Poet P --- or A Vintner's Boy the Wretch was first preserr'd, To wait at Vice's Gates, and Pimp for Bread; To hold the Candle, and sometimes the Door, Let in the Drunkard, and let out the Whore: But as to Villains it has often chanc'd, Was for his Wit and Wickedness advanc'd. Let no Man think his new Behaviour strange, No Metamorphosis can Nature change; Effects are chain'd to Causes; generally The Rascal born will like a Ralcal die.

His Prince's Favours follow'd him in vain,
They chang'd the Circumstance, but not the Man.
While out of Pocket, and his Spirits low,
He'd beg, write Panegyricks, cringe and bow;
But when good Pensions had his Labours crown'd,
His Panagyricks into Satyrs turn'd,
And with a true Mechanick Spirit curst,
Abus'd his Royal Benefactor first.
What strange assiduous Pains does P——or take
To let great D——set see he cou'd mistake!
Dissembling Nature salse Description gave,
Shew'd him the Poet, and conceal'd the Knave.

To—and, if such a Wretch is worth our Scorn, Shall Vice's blackest Catalogue adorn; His hated Character let this supply, Too vile even for our University.

Now, Satyr, to one Character be just,

Mob ___ n's the only Patern, and the first s

A Title which has more of Honour in't. Than all his ancient Glories of Descent. Most Men their Neighbours Vices will disown. But he's the Man that first reforms his own. Let those alone reproach his want of Sense. Who with his Crimes have had his Penitence. 'Tis want of Sense makes Men when they do wrong Adjourn their promis'd Penitence too long : Nor let them call him Coward, because he fears To pull both God and Man about his Ears. Amongst the worst of Cowards let him be nam'd. Who having finn'd's afraid to be asham'd: And to mistaken Courage he's betray'd, Who having finn'd's asham'd to be afraid. Thy Valour M-does our Praise prevent, For thou haft had the Courage to repent: Nor shall his first Mistakes our Censure find, What Heaven forgets let no Man call to mind.

Satyr, make search thro' all the sober Age,
To bring one season'd Drunkard on the Stage;
Sir Stephen, nor Sir T—s Cecil won't suffice,
Nor Six and twenty Kentish Justices:
Your Fsex Priesthood hardly can supply,
Tho' they're enough to drink the Nation dry;
Tho' Parson Bedsard has been steep'd in Wine,
And sunk the Royal Tankard on the Rhine.
He's not the Man that's sit to raise a Breed,
Shou'd Pembrook, Paul, or Robinson succeed;
Or match the Size of marchless Rochester,
And make one long Debauch of Thirteen Year;

It must be something can Mankind out-do,
Some high Excess that's wonder sul and new:
Nor will Mechanick Sots our Satyr suit,
'Tis Quality must grace the Attribute:
These, like the losty Cedars to the Shrub,
Drink Mandlin College down, and Royston-Club.
Such petty Drinking's a Mechanick Evil,
But he's a Drunkard that out-drinks the Devil;
If such cannot in Court or Church appear,
Let's view the Camp, you'll quickly find 'em there.

Brave Toring—n, who Revell'd Day and Night,
And always kept himself too drunk to Fight;
And Orf—rd, in a Sea of Sulphur strove
To let the Spaniards see the Vice we love;
Yet these are puny Sinners, if you'll look
The dreadful Roll in Fate's Authentick Book.
The Monument of Bacchus still remains,
Where English Bones lye heap'd in Irish Plains;
Triumphant Death upon our Army trod,
And Revell'd at Dundalk in English Blood.

Let no Man wonder at the dreadful Blow,

For Heaven has feldom been infulted so.
In vain old Schomberg mourn'd the Troops that fell,
While he made Vows to Heaven, and they to Hell.
Our Satyr trembles to review those Times,
And hardly finds out Words to name their Crimes;
In every Tent the horrid Juncto's sate,
To brave their Maker, and despise their Fate;
The Work was done, Drunkenness was gone before,
Life was suspended, Death could do no more.

Five

Five Regimented Heroes there appear,
Captains of Thoulands, mighty Men of War,
Glutted with Wine, and drunk with Hellish Rage,
For want of other Foes they Heaven engage.
Sulphur and ill-extracted Fumes agree,
To make each drop push on their Destiny.
Th' Infernal Draughts in Blasphemies rebound,
And openly the Devil's Health went round:
Nor can our Verse their latent Crime conceal,
How they shook Hands to meet next Day in Hell;
Death pledg'd them, Fate the dreadful Compact read,
Concurring Justice spoke, and Four of Five lay dead.
When Mentheir Maker's Vengeance once desie,
'Tis a certain Sign that their Destruction's nigh.

'Tis vain to single out Examples here,
Drunkenness will soon be th' Nations Character;
The grand Contagion's spreading over all,
Tis Epidemick now, and National.
Since then the Sages all Reproofs despise,
Let's quit the People, and Lampoon the Vice.
Drunkenness is so the Error of the Time,

The Youth begin to ask if 'tis a Crime:
Wonder to see the grave Patricians come,
from City Courts of Conscience recling home;
And think 'tis hard they should no Licence make,
To give the Freedom which their Fathers take.

The Seat of Judgment's fo debaneh'd with Wine,

uffice seems rather to be drunk than blind:

ets fall the Sword, and her unequal Scale

lakes Right go down, and Injury prevail.

YC

A Vice 'tis thought the Devil at first design'd, Not to allure, but to affront, Mankind; A Pleasure Nature hardly can explain, Suits none of God Almighty's Brutes but Man.

An AA so Nauseous, that had Heaven enjoyn'd The Practice as a Duty on Mankind,
They'd shun the Bliss which came so foul a Way,
And rather forseit Heaven than once obey.

A double Crime, by which one Act w' undo
At once the Gentleman and Christian too:
For which no better Antidote is known,
Than when one Drunkard's to another shown.
The Mother Conduit of expatiate Sin,
VVhere all the Seeds of VVickedness begin;
The Introduction to Eternal Strife,
And Prologue to the Tragedy of Life;
A foolish Vice will needless Crimes reveal,
And only tells the truth it should conceal.

'Tis strange that Men of Sense should be subdu'd By Vices so unnatural and rude,

Which gorge the Stomach to divort the Head,

And to make Mankind merry, make them mad:

Destroys the Vitals, and distracts the Brain,

And rudely moves the Tongue to talk in vain;

Dismisses Reason, stupisses the Sense,

And wondring Nature's left in strange suspence;

The Soul's benumb'd, and ceases to inform,

And all the Sea of Nature's in a Storm;

The Dead unactive Organ feels the Shock, And willing Death attends the Fatal Stroke.

And is this all for which Mankind endure Distempers past the Power of Art to cure? Fo which our Youth Old Age anticipate, And with Luxurious Drafts suppress their vital Heat? Tell us, ye Learned Doctors of the Vice, Wherein the high mysterious Pleasure lies? The great sublime Enjoyments's laid so deep, Tis known in Dream, and understood in Sleep. The Graduates of the Science first commence, And gain Perfection when they lose their Sense: Titles they give, which call their Vice to mind, But Sot's the common Name for all the kind. Nature's Fanaticks, who their Sense employ The Principles of Nature to destroy. A Drunkard is a Creature God ne'er made, The Species Man, the Nature retrogade; From all the Sons of Paradife they feem To differ in the most acute Extreme; These covet Knowledge, labour to be Wise, These stupishe the Sense and put out Reason's Eyes; for Health and Youth those all their Arts employ; These strive their Youth and Vigour to destroy; Those damn themselves to heap an ill-got Store, These liquidate their Wealth, and covet to be poor.

Satyr, examine now with needful care,
What the Rich Trophies of the Bottle ate,
The mighty Conquests which her Champions boast,
The Prizes which they gain, and Price they cost.

he

The

The Enligns of her Order foon displace Nature's most early Beauties from the Face; Paleness at first succeeds, and languid Air, And bloated Yellows supersede the Fair; The flaming Eyes betray the Nitrous Flood, Which quench the Spirits, and inflame the Blood, Disperse the Rosie Beauties of the Face, And Fiery Botches triumph in the place; The totterring Head and trembling Hand appears, And all the Marks of Age without the Years; Distorted Limbs, gross and unweildy move : And hardly can purfue the Vice they love: A Bacchanalian Scarlet dies the Skin. A Sign what Sulphurous Steams arise within, The Flesh embos'd with Ulcers, and the Brain Oppress'd with Furres and Vapour, shews in vain What once before the Fire it did contain.

At once can both extinguish and inflame:

Keen as the Light'ning does the Sword consume,
And leaves the untouch'd Scabbard in its room;

Nature burnt up with fiery Vapour dies,
An Wine a little while Mock-Life supplies:

Gouts and old Aches, Life's short Hours divide,
At once the Drunkard's Punishment and Pride;
Who having all his youthful Powers subdu'd,

Enjoys Old Age and Pain before he shou'd,
'Till Nature quite exhausted quits the Wretch,
And leaves more Will than Power to Debauch;
With Hellish Pleasure past Excess he views,
And sain wou'd drink, but i ature must resuse:

Thus

F

I

Thus drench'd in artificial Flame he lies, Drunk in Desire, forgets himself and dies. In the next Regions he expects the same; And Hell's no change, for here he liv'd in Flame.

Satyr, to Church, Visit the House of Prayer,
And see the wretched Reformation there;
Unveil the Mask, and search the Sacred Sham;
For Rognes of all Religion are the same.
The several Tribes their numerous Titles view,
And sear no Censure where the Fact is true;
They all shall have thee for their constant Friend,
Who more than common Sanctity pretend;
Provided they'll take care the World may see
Their Practices and their Pretence agree;
But count them with the worst of Hypocrites,
Whom Zeal divides, and Wickedness unites,
Who in Profession only are precise,
Dissent in Doctrine, and conform in Vice.

They who from the Establish'd Church divide,
Must do it out of Piety or Pride:
And their Sincerity is quickly try'd.
For always they that stand before the first
Will be the best of Christians, or the worst.
But shun their secret Councils, O my Soul!
Whose Interest can their Consciences controul;
Those Ambo-Dexters in Religion, who
Can any thing dispute, yet any thing can do:
Those Christian Mountebanks, that in disguise
Can reconcile Impossibilities;

?

Alternately conform, and yet diffent, And Sin with both Hands, but with one repent.

The Man of Conscience all Mankind will love, The Knaves themselves his Honesty approve: He only to Religion can pretend, The rest do for the Name alone contend.

The Verity of true Religion's known
By no Description better than its own.
Of Truth and Wisdom it informs the Mind,
And Nobly strives to Civilize Mankind:
With potent Vice maintains Eternal Strife,
Corrects the Manners, and reforms the Life.

Tell us, ye Learned Magi of the Schools,
Who pose Mankind with Ecclesiastick Rules,
What strange amphibious things are they that can
Religion without Honesty maintain:
Who own a God, pretended Homage pay,
But neither his, nor Human Laws Obey.
Blush England, hide thy Hypocritick Face,
Who has no Honesty, can have no Grace.

In vain we argue from Absurdities,
Religion's bury'd just when Vertue dies;
Vertue's the Light by which Religion's known,
If this be wanting, Heaven will that disown.
We grant it merits no Divine Regard:
And Heaven is all from Bounty, not Reward:
But God must his own Nature Contradict,
Reverse the World, its Government Neglect,

weak in Power, and mutable in Will.
Vice and Vertue equal Fate should know,
d that unbless'd, or this unpunish'd, go.

In vain we strive Religion to disguise,
d smother it with Ambiguities:
erest and Priestcrast may, perhaps, invent
ange Mysteries by way of Supplement:
nool-men may deep perplexing Doubts disclose,
ad subtle Notions on the World impose,
ll by their ignorance they are betray'd,
ad lost in Desarts which themselves ha' made.
alots may Cant, and Dreamers may Divinie,
ad formal Fops to Pageantry incline,
ad all with specious Gravity pretend
neir Spurious Metaphysicks to desend.

Religion's no divided Mystick Name, Vall 2014 And Artrue Religion always is the same; and a same a sked and plain her Sacred Truth's appear, and back and green, and what's reveal'd is no untrodden Path, is known by Rule, and understood by Faith; he Negatives and Positives agree, after a by Truth and Honesty.

And yet if all Religion was in vain, id no Rewards or Punishments contain,

Vertue's fo suited to our Happiness, That none but Fools cou'd be in love with Vice.

Vertue's a Native Rectitude of Mind, Vice the Degeneracy of Human Kind: Vertue is Wisdom Solid and Divine, Vice is all Fool without, and Knave within: Vertue is Honour circumfcrib'd by Grace, Vice is made up of every thing that's base : Vertue has secret Charms which all Men love, And those that do not chuse her, yet approve: Vice, like ill Pictures which offend the Eye, Make those that made them their own Works deny: Vertue's the Health and Vigour of the Soul, Vice is the fonl Disease infects the whole: Vertue's the Friend of Life, the Soul of Health, The Poor Man's Comfort, and the Rich Man's Wealth Vice is a Thief, a Traitor in the Mind, Affaffinates the Vitals of Mankind; The Poison of his high Prosperity. And only Mifery of Poverty.

To States and Governments they both extend,

Vertue's their Life and Being, Vice their End:

Vertue establishes, and Vice destroys,

And all the ends of Government unties:

Vertue's an English King and Parliament,

Vice is a Czar of Muscow Government:

Vertue sets bounds to Kings, and limits Crowns,

Vice knows no Law, and all restraint disowns:

Vertue prescribes all Government by Rules,

Vice makes Kings Tyrants, and their Subjects Fools:

Ver

(57)

the feeks Peace, and Property maintains,
e binds the Captive World in hossile Chains;
tue's a beauteous Building form'd on high,
e is Consusion and Deformity.

In vain we strive these Two to reconcile,
in and impossible the unequal Toil:
tipathies in Nature may agree,
rkness and Light, Discord and Harmony;
te distant Poles in spight of space may kiss,
ater Capitulate, and Fire make Peace:
t Good and Evil never can agree,
ernal Discord's there, Eternal Contrariety.

In vain the Name of Vertue they put on, I begon and the hopreach up Piety, and practife none. Sugnitive that the tyr refume the Search of secret Vice, Standard Anceal'd beneath Religion's fair Disguise.

lth

ertit

Solid's a Parson Orthodox and Grave,
arning and Language more than most Men have;
fluent Tongue, a well-digested Stile,
s Angel Voice his Hearers Hours beguile;
arm'd them with Godliness, and while he spake;
elov'd the Doctrine for the Teachers sake;
ictly to all Prescription he adheres.
Canons, Rubrick, Discipline, and Prayers.
bours the Church's latent Wounds to heal?
wou'd be uncharitable to suggest

here this is found we should not find the rest:

expected by hely mercinous, but med:

(98)

Yet Solid's frail and false, to say no more, Doats on a Bottle, and what's worse, a Whore. Two Bastard Sons he educates abroad, And breeds them to the Function of the Word; In this the zealous Church-man he puts on, And Dedicates his Labours to the Gown.

Pel—n, for so his Grace the Duke thought sit, Has in the Wild of Sussex made his Seat:
His want of Manners we could here excuse,
For in his Time 'twas out of Pulpit use:
Railing was then the Duty of the Day,
Their Sabbath-work was but to Scold and Pray;
But when transplanted to a Country-Town,
Twas hop'd he'd lay his siery Talent down:
At least we thought he'd so much caution use,
As not his Noble Patron to abuse.

But 'tis in vain to cultivate Mankind,
When Pride has once possession of his Mind.
Not all his Grace's Favours could prevail,
To calm that Tongue that was so used to rail.
Promiscuous Gall his Learned Mouth desil'd,
And Hypocondriack Spleen his Preaching spoil'd;
His undistinguish'd Censure he bestows,
Not by Desert, but as Ill-nature flows.
The Learned say the Causes are from hence,
An Ebb of Manners, and a Flux of Sense;
Dilated Pride, the Frenzy of the Brain,
Exhal'd the Spirits, and disturb'd the Man;
And so the kindest thing which can be said,
Is not to say he's mutinous, but mad;

(99)

thought his Belly pregnant as his Brain; thought his Belly pregnant as his Brain; try'd himself with Child, and durst beleive, at he by Inspiration cou'd conceive; d if the Hetrogenious Birth goes on, hopes to bring his Mother Church a Son; o' some Folks think the Doctor ought to doubt thow't got in, but how it will get out.

Hark, Satyr, now bring Boanerges down,
Fighting Priest, a Bully of the Gown:
double Office he can serve the Lord,
b fight his Battles, and to preach his Word;
and double Praise is to his Merit due,
thumps the Pulpit, and the People too

Than search my Lord of L—Diocess, and see what Rakes the Care of Souls posses; seech his L—p but to Name the Priest sent sober from his Visitation Feast. ell him of Sixteen Ecclesiastick Guides, a whom no Spirit but that of Wine abides; sho in contiguous Parishes remain, and Preach the Gospel once a Weak in vain: at in their Practices unpreach it all, and sacrifice to Baschus and to Baal.

Tell him a Vicious Priesthood must imply Careless or Desective Prelacy; at still be circumspect, and spare the Gown; he Mitre's sull as sacred as the Crown;

(roo)

The Church's Sea is always in a Storm,
Leave them at Latter Lammas to reform.

If in there Gulph of Vice thou should stappear,
Thou'lt certainly be Lost and Shipwrack'd there
Nor meddle with their Convocation Feuds,
The Church's Farce, the Clergy's interludes:
Their Church Distinctions too let us lay by,
As who are low Church Rakes, and who are high.
Enquire not who their passive Doctrine broke,
Who swore at Random, or who ly'd by Book:
But since their Frailties come so very fast,
'Tis plain they shou'd not be beleiv'd in haste.

Satyr, for Reasons we ha' told before,
With gentle Strokes the Men of Posts passo'er;
Nor within Gun-shot of St. Stephen's come,
Unless thou'rt well prepar'd for Matyrdom;
Not that there's any want of Subject there,
But the more Crimes we have, the less we'll hear;
And what hast thou to do with Sovereign Power?
Let them sin on, and tempt the Fatal Hour;
'Tis vain to preach up dull Morality,
Where too much Crime, and too much Power agree;
The harden'd Guilt undocible appears,
They'll exercise their Hands but not their Ears.
Let their own Crimes be Punishment enough,
And let them want the favour of Reproof.

Let the Court Ladies be as lewd as fair,

Let Wealth and VVickedness be Musgr — s Care;

Let Dar—'t drench his VVit with his Estate,

And Oxf—dsin in spight of Age and Fate;

the wrong side of Eighty let him Whore, always was, and will be, Lewd and Poor; D enthalpha fire be proud, and Orm enthalpha d gay, ish of vast Estates, and scorn to pay:

Ancient Duke has sinn'd to's Hearts content, but he scorns to stoop, wou'd now repent: u'd Heaven abate but that one Darling Sin, l be a Christian and a P again; poor Corrinna mourn her Maidenhead; lher lost <math>D enthalpha for Portugal or Spain, prays he never may return a gain, fear she always shou'd resist in vain.

all their Vice from Imitation flows;

I'twou'd be but a very dull Pretence,
miss the Cause, and blame the Consequence:
let us make Mankind asham'd to sin,
d Nature'll make the Women all come in;
s one Request shall thy Rebukes express,
y to talk a little little less.

ow view the Beaus at Will's, the Men of Wit,
Nature nice, and for discerning fit:
finish'd Fops, the Men of Wig and Snuss,
hts of the Famous Oyster-Barrel Muss.
e meets the Diet of Imperial Wit,
of their weighty Matters wisely treat;
Deputies to Tunbridge and the Bath,
wide young Country Beaus in Wit's uncrring Path.

Prigfon from Nurse and Hanging-sleeves got free,
A little smatch of Modern Blasphemy;
A powder'd Wig, a Sword, a Page, a Chair,
Learns to take Snuss, drink Chocolate and Swear!
Nature seems thus far to ha' led him on,
And no man thinks he was a Fop too soon;
But'twas the Devil surely drew him in,
Against the Light of Nature thus to sin;
That he who was a Coxcomb so compleat,
Should now put in his wretched Claim for Wit;
Such sober Steps Men to their Ruin take,
A Fop, a Beau, a Wit, and then a Rake.

Fate has the Scoundrel Party halv'd in Two, The Wits are Shabby, and the Fops are Beau; The Reason's plain, the Money went before, And fo the Wits are Rakish 'cause they're Poor; Indulgent Heaven for Decency thought fit, That some shou'd have the Money, and some the Wit Fools are a Rent-Charge left on Providence, And have Equivalents instead of Sense; To whom he's bound a larger Lot to crave, Or else they'd seem to ha' been Born to starve. Such with their double Dole shou'd be content, And not pretend to Gifts that Heaven ne'er fent: For 'twou'd reflect upon the Power supream, If all his Mercies ran in own contracted Stream: The Men of Wit would by their Wealth be known; Some wou'd have all the Good, and some ha' none; The useless Fools woud in the World remain, As Instances that Heaven cou'd work in vain.

Dull Fletumacy has his Heart's Delight,
Gets up i'th' Morning to lye down at Night;
His Talk's a Mass of weighty Emptiness,
None more of Business prates, or knows it less;
A painted Lump of Idleness and Sloth,
And in the Arms of Bacchus spends his Youth:
The waiting Minutes tend on him in vain,
Misspent the past, unvalued those remain;
Time lies as useless, unregarded by,
Veedless to him that's only Born to die;
And yet this undiscerning thing has Pride,
And hugs the Fop that wise Men deride.

Pride's a most useful Vertue in a Fool; The humble Coxcomb's always made a Tool; onceit's a Blockhead's only Happiness; le'd hang himfelf if he cou'd use his Eyes. Fools cou'd their own Ignorance difcern, hey'd be no longer Fools, because they'd learn. rom whence some wise Philosophers ha' faid, pols may fometimes be fullen, but can't be mad: lis too much thinking which distracts the Brain, rouds it with Vapours which dissolve in vain; he fluttering Wind of undigested Thought eeps Mock Idea's in, and True one's out: hese guide the undirected Wretch along, Vith giddy Head and inconsistent Tongue; it Fletumacy's safe, he's none of them, dlam can never lay her Claim to him; ature secur'd his unincumbred Scull, Fletumacy never thinks at all?

Supinely sleeps in Diadora's Arms,
Doz'd with the Magick of her Craft and Charms;
The subtle Dame brought up in Vice's School,
Can love the Cully, tho' she hates the Fool:
Wisely her just Contempt of him conceals,
And hides the Follies he himself reveals.
'Tis plain the self denying Jilt's i'th' Right,
She wants his Money, and he wants her Wit.

Satyr, the Men of Rhime and Jingle shun;
Hast not thou Rhim'd thy self till thou'rt undone?
On Rakish Poets let us not reslect,
They only are what all Mankind expect.

Yet 'tis not Poets have debaucht the Times,
'Tis we that have so damn'd their sober Rhimes:
The Tribe's good natur'd, and desire to please,
And when you snarl at those, present you these.
The World has lost its ancient taste of Wit,
And Vice comes in to raise the Appetite;
For Wit has lately got the start of Sense,
And serves it self as well with Impudence.

Let him whose Fate it is to write for Bread,
Keep this one Maxim always in his Head:
If in this Age he would expect to please,
He must not cure, but nourish, their Disease;
Dull Moral things will never pass for Wit;
Some years ago they might, but now's too late.
Vertue's the faint Green-sickness of the Times,
'Tis luscious Vice gives Spirit to all our Rhimes.

In vain the sober thing inspir'd with Wit, Writes Hymns and Histories from Sacred Writ; But let him Blasphemy and Baudy write, The Pious and the Modest both will buy't. The blushing Virgin's pleas'd, and loves to look, And plants the Poem next to her Prayer-Book.

Wess——ly with Pen and Poverty beset,
And Black——re vers'd in Physick as in Wit;
Tho' this of Jesus, that of Job, may sing,
One Bawdy Play will twice their Profits bring;
And had not both carest the Flatter'd Crown,
This had no Knighthood seen, nor that no Gown.

Had Vice no Power the Fancy to hewitch,
Dryden had hang'd himself as well as Creech:
Dursey had starv'd, and half the Poets sted
In Foreign Parts to Pawn their Wit for Bread.
'Tis Wine or Leudness all our Themes supplies,
Gives Poets Power to write, and Power to please:
Let this describe the Nation's Character,
One Man reads Milton, Forty Rochester.

This lost his Taste, They say, as well as Sight;
Milton had Thought, but Rochester had Wit.
The Case is plain, the temper of the Time,
One wrote the Lend, and t'other the Sublime.

And shou'd Apollo now descend and write In Vertue's Praise 'twou'd never pass for Wit. The Bookseller perhaps wou'd say, 'Twas well: But 'Twould not his the Times, 'I would never sell: Unless a Spice of Leudness cou'd appear,
The sprightly Part wou'd still be wanting there.
The Fashionable World wou'd never read,
Nor the unfashionable Poet get his Bread.
'Tis Love and Honour must enrich our Verse,
The Modern Terms our Whoring to rehearse.
The sprightly Part attends the God of Wine,
The Drunken Stile must blaze in every Line.
These are the Modern Qualities must do
To make the Poem and the Poet too.

Dear Satyr, if thou wilt reform the Town, 'Thou'lt certainly be beggar'd and undone: Tis at thy Peril if thou wilt proceed
To cry down Vice, Mankind will never read.

The Conclusion.

WHat strange Mechanick thoughts of God and Man Must this unsteady Nation entertain,
To think Almighty Science can be blind,
Wisdom it self be banter'd by Mankind,
Eternal Providence be mockt with Lies,
With Outsides and Improbabilities,
With Laws, those R hodomanta's of the State,
Long Proglamations, and the Lord knows what,
Societies ill Manners to suppress,
And new sham Wars with Immoralities,
While they themselves to common Crimes betray'd,
Can break the very Laws themselves ha' made:
With

(107)

With Jehn's Zeal they furiously reform, And raise false Clouds, which end without a Storm; But with a loose to Vice securely see The Subject punish'd, and themselves go free.

For shame your Reformation Clubs give o'er,
And jest with Men, and jest with Heaven, no more:
But if you wou'd avenging Powers appeale,
Avert the Indignation of the Skies,
Impending Ruin avoid, and calm the Fates,
Te Hypocrites, reform your Magistrates.

Your Quest of Vice at Church and Court begin, There lye the Seeds of high expatiate Sin; 'Tis they can check the Vices of the Town Whene'er they please but to Suppress their own; Our Modes of Vice from their Examples came, And their Examples only must reclaim. In vain you strive ill Manners to suppress, By the Superlatives of Wickedness: Ask but how well the drunken Plow-man looks, Set by the Swearing Justice in the Stocks, And poor Street Whores in Bridewell fell their Fate, While Harlot M-n ides in Coach of State. The Mercenary Scouts in every Street, Bring all that have no Money to your Feet; And if you lash a Strumpet of the Town, She only smarts for mant of Half a Crown: Your Annual Lists of Criminals appear, But no Sir Harry, or Sir Charles, is there. Your Proclamations Rank and File appear, To Bugbear Vice, and put Mankind in fear:

These are the Squibs and Crackers of the Law, Which Hifs, and make a Bounce, and then withdraw. Law, like the Thunder of Immortal Jove, Rings Peals of Terror from the Powers above; But when the pointed Lightnings disappear, The Cloud dissolves, and all's ferene and clear: Law only aids Men to conceal their Crimes, But 'tis Example must reform the Times ; Force and Authorities are all in vain, Unless you can perswade, you'll ne'er constrain; And all perswasive Power expires of Course. Till backt with good Examples to enforce. The Magistrates must Blasphemy forbear, Be faultless first themselves, and then severe; Impartial Justice equally dispence, And fear no Man, nor fear no Man's Offence: Then may our Justices, and not before, When they reprove the Rich, correct the Poor.

The Men of Honour must from Vice dissent,
Before the Rakes and Bullies will repent;
Vertue must be the Fashion of the Town,
Before the Beaus and Ladies put it on;
Wit must no more be Bawdy and Profane,
Or Wit to Vertue's reconcil'd in vain.
The Clergy must be Sober, Grave and Wise,
Or else in vain they Cant of Paradise:
Our Reformation never can prevail,
While Precepts govern, and Examples fail,
Were but the Ladies Vertuous as they're Fair,
The Beaus wou'd blush as often as they Swear;

Vice wou'd grow antiquated in the Town,
Wou'd all our Men of Mode but cry it down:
For Sin's a Slave to Custom, and will die
Whenever Habits suffer a decay;
And therefore all our Reformation here
Must work upon our Shame, and not our Fear.
If once the Mode of Vertue wou'd begin,
The Poor will quickly be asham'd to Sin.
Fashion is such a strange bewitching Charm,
For fear of being laugh'd at they'll Reform.

And yet Posterity will blush to hear Royal Examples ha' been useless here; The only Just Exception to our Rule, Vertue's not learnt in this Imperial School. In vain Maria's Character we read, So sew will in her Path of Vertue tread.

In vain her Royal Sister recommends

Vertue to 'e the Test of all her Friends,

Backt with her own Example and Commands.

Our Church establisht, and our Trade restor'd,
Our Friends protected, and our Peace secur'd,
France humbl'd, and our Fleets insulting Spain,
These are the triumphs of a Female Keign;
At Home her milder Insluence she imparts,
Queen of our Vows, and Monarch of our Hearts.
If Change of Sexes thus will change our Scenes,
Grant Heaven we always may be rul'd by Queens.

Vice would grow and co a H.T. Ford bow with

he

bi

he

Afhes

CHARACTER Of the late

Mr. SAMUEL ANNESLEY,

By way of

ELEGY.

Was spoke from Heaven, the Best of Men must No Patent's seal'd for Immortality: (Dic, Not God's own Favourites can shun the Stroke; Even God himself cannot the Law revoke; He can't, unless he should at once repeal The Eternal Laws of Nature: Change his Will; Declare his Works impersect, Life restore To all that's Dead, and be a God no more.

The World, whose Nature is to fade and die, Must change, and take up Immortality; And Time, which to Eternity rouls on, Must change, and be Etarnity begun.

All things must ever live, or Man must die:
The Law's Supream, and Nature must obey.
How vain then, and impertinent is Grief,
Which nor to Dead or Living gives Relief!
Sighs for departed Friends are senseless things,
Which them no Help, nor us no Comfort brings.
Tears on the Graves, where Breathless Bodies lie,
Our Ignrrance, or Atheism, imply;

hes and Sack-cloth, Gries and renting Cloaths, refolly more than our Affection shows:

re Grief is nothing, properly, but Rage,
and God himself's the Object we engage.
in we would live without his Negative;
hich when we can't accomplish, then we grieve:
he Passion's foolish, as it is profane;
he Action, as 'tis fruitless, and in vain.

Then others die, be thankful you're alive?

Inprove the great Examples you look on,

Ind take their Deaths for Warnings of your own:

The best of Men cannot suspend their Fate:

The Good die early, and the Bad die late.

The Eternal Laws of Life are fix'd and fast,

Ind he who latest dies, yet dies at last.

The o' early Vice does early Death presage,

It Piety can lengthen no Man's Age:

The Stroke's promiscuous, and there's no suspence

The eyond the stated Bounds of Providence;

To if distinguish'd Piety could save,

We had seen no Elegy, nor he no Grave.

Stay then, and spend a Thought upon his Herse, Whose Name is more immortal than our Verse: or tho' Death's Stroke, like an impetuous Flood, wolves in common Fate the Just and Good, and in one Grave there undistinguish'd lies he Ashes of the Foolish and the Wise, the Pious and Profane, the Mean, the Great, and Grace it self can be no Bribe to Fate;

Yet Pious Works, like living Flowers, will grow T' a kind of Immortality below;
And Characters of Worthies, like the Sun,
Reflect a Lustre, tho' themselves are gone:
Which High Immortal Names to them create,
For us to Honour and to Imitate.
Then see what Characters to him belong;
The best that Pen e'er wrote, or Poet sung.

His Parents dedicated him, by Vow,
To serve the Church, and early taught him how.
As Hannah, when she for her Samuel pray'd;
The welcome Loan with Thankfulness repay'd;
So they, foreseeing 'twou'd not be in vain,
Ask'd him of God, and vow'd him back again;
And he again as early did prepare
To list a willing Soldier in the Sacred War.

His Pious Course with Childhood he began,
And was his Maker's sooner than his own;
As if design'd by Instinct to be Great,
His Judgment seem'd to antidate his Wit;
His Soul out-grew the natural rate of Years,
And full-grown Wit, and half-grown Youth appears;
Early the vigorous Combat he began,
And was an older Christian than a Man.
The Sacred Study all his Thoughts consin'd;
A sign what secret Hand prepar'd his Mind:
The Heavenly Book he made his only School,
In Youth his Study, and in Age his Rule.
Thus he in blooming Years and Hopes began,
Happy, Belov'd, and Blest of God and Man;

yet Vigorous too, both Grave and Young, king Aspect, and a charming Tounge, th David's Courage, and Josiah's Youth, wer Love, Sincerity, and Truth. he Gay VVorld attack'd him with her Charms, hook the Gaudy Trifle from his Arms; en Fraud assaulted him, or Fame carres'd he with Eafe, and that with Scorn suppres'd: as the Rocksin rouling Seas abide, en Flouds of Doubts and Dangers pass beside, en Grief's come threatning on, or Comfort flows, undepress'd by these, unraised by those; thus advancing with a just Applause, rew a Champion in his Master's Cause; Sacred Bow he fo Divinely drew, t every shot both hit and overthrem; native Candor, and familiar Stile, ich did so oft his Hearers Hours beguile, m'd us with Godliness, and while he spake, lov'd the Doctrine for the Teacher's fake. le he inform'd us what those Doarines meant, int of Practice more than Aroument. nge were the Charms of his Sincerity, ch made his Action and his Words agree. uch a constant and exact a rate, nade a Harmony we wondred at.

more by Merit than Inheritance; both together joyn'd, compleat his Fame, Honesty and Honour are the same,

lid,

And show, when Merit's joyn'd with Quality, The Gentleman and Christian may agree.

Honour by Vertue only is upheld,
And vain are all the Trophies Vice can build;
For tho' by wicked Acts Men gain Applause,
The Reputation's rotten, like the Cause.
Vain too's the single Honour of Descent,
Till Merit's added as a Supplement.
But when to Vertue Grace infus'd is given,
The sacred Incense reaches up to Heaven;
No Force, or Fraud, can such a Fame remove,
It pleases Men below, and God above.

His negative Vertues also have been try'd, He had no Priest-craft in him, nor no Pride; No Fraud nor Weedling Arts to be esteem'd, But just the very Person that he seem'd; Nor was he touch'd or tainted with a Bribe, That universal Blemish of the Tribe : For if to Gifts he ever was enclin'd, He laid none up, and left us none behind. A Moses for Humility and Zeal, For Innocence a true Nathaniel; Faithful as Abraham, or the Truer Spies; No Man more Honest, and but few fo Wife : Exempler Vertue shone through every Part; For Grace had full possession of his Heart: Humility was his dear darling Grace. And Honesty Sate Regent in his Face; Meekness of Soul did in his Aspect shine, But in the Truth refolv'd and masculine;

leasing Smile sate ever on his Brow, gn that chearful Peace was lodg'd below. er his Duty forc'd him to contend, aness was all his Temper, Peace his End; if just Censure follow'd the Debate, Pity wou'd his Zeal anticipate.

Heavenly Patience did his Mind posses, wful in Pain, and thankful in Distress; hty in Works of Sacred Charity, ich none knew better how to guide than he; nty and generous Thoughts, took up his Mind ensive, like his maker's to Mankind, th such a Soul, that (had he Mines in store) dne'er be Rich while any Man was Poor: leart so Great, that had he but a Purse, whe's above the Praises of my Pen, Best of Ministers, and Best of Men!

Then speak not of him with a mournful Voice; why shou'd we Repine, and he Rejoyce?

Harvest has been full, his Season long,

long he charm'd us with his Heavenly Song,

same, the very same, which slaming Love,

d with Cælestial Raptures, sings above;

ach'd with a Sacred Influence that's given

n that Eternal Harmony in Heaven;

chorus and the Consort ever last,

all Reward for all his Troubles past.

if there be a God, and suture Sate,

leaven, a Hell, a Good and Evil Fate;

A Great first Cause, Immortal and Immence, That does Rewards and Punishments dispense; Then Pious Men when they revolve to Duft, Do those Rewards partake, if Heaven be Just: For Death's a passive Notion; and the whole Is but a Transmutation of the Soul From an embodied Life to a sublime, Prescrib'd no more to Circumstance and Time; For if no difference of States there be, How then do Vice and Vertue disagree For here the Disadvantage plainly lies For Knaves and Fools, against the Just and Wise: By partial Fame the prosperous Fool's cares'd, The Bad exalted, and the Good suppress'd. The Good Man's Expectation then must be From Happiness with Immortality: Something which to fublimer Vertue's due, Something substantial and eternal to, That can for all his Suffering fatisfie, His Hopes support, and all his Wants supply: For if to future State we've no regard, How then can vertue be its own Reward?

Could but my happy Pen describe the Sense
That seiz'd his joyful Soul at parting hence;
Such Contemplations would transform my Mind;
For Thoughts reach Heaven, when Bodies stay behind:
And he that thinks at so Divine a rate,
May suture Happiness anticipate.
When his Heart leap'd at the good News of Death,
And sacred Extasses employ d his Breath,
The bless'd Rewards did to his Faith appear,
The Passage ease, and the Prospect near;

Ind firm Assurance, with a losty Gale, whing'd with Divinest Comfort, fill'd his Sail: fiad the gladsom Regions in his view, s Hopes were constant, and his Comforts true: wonder Balaam wish'd to die so to-

3

And now Seraphick Joys furround his Soul, hich feel no diminution or controul: it what they are, or how far they extend, o Pen can write, or Thought can comprehend, t he who at that happy Place arrives; r Heaven is only known by Negatives. ow much Coelectial Vision comprehends; Vhether to Humane Actions it extends, Vhether he's now inform'd of Things below, needless as Impossible to know: or fight of Spirits is unprescribed by space. hat see they not, who see the Eternal Face? he bright transforming Rays of Heavenly Light, mence, Immortal, Pure, and Infinite, heir Likeness with their Light communicate, he Spirit exalt, and all its Frame dilate; fuling with the bright Similitude n inexpressible Beatitude!

And could he now, in his exalted State, is Thoughts by Sympathy communicate, rome superior way

For Spirits converse

ithout the helps of Voice:

Could he rehearse

wou'd be concisely thus, All Beaven above, Love: Love

Love Infinite, Magnificent, and True, Divine in Magnitude, and Object to: Love, Joy, and Glory, constitute the Place; The Exalted Triumphs of Victorious Grace! No Sorrow can be there, because no Sin; For all is Peace without, and Pure within. There all are Gods, and yet they all adore The One Supream first Cause of Sovereign Power; And all that Adoration's mix'd with Love, The great Essential of the Joys above : That Heaven-born Passion, which with purest Flame Burns only there: For here 'tis but a Name, An empty Name, by Int'rest limited, A Slave to Scandal, and by Fancy led. Friendship, unmix dwith Sexes, reigns above The true Extream of high fuperior Love; Emblem of Heaven, which it resembles so, It almost seems to form a Heaven below: For Love in Heaven, is God communicate; Souls Collateral; both fupreamly Great: Th' Enjoyment's as reciprocal as high; For Love's no Passion, but a Quality: Thro' it the Almighty Glory darts his Beams, Known only by unutterable Names; With Light and Splendor unapproach'd enthron'd, Millions of fiery Spirits attending round, Who all, like Stars, have Brightness from his Rays, And they reflect it back again in Praise. Where e'er this bles'd Society shall dwell, That Place is Heaven, and every where else is Hek.

Th

Sho

He

Th

An

An

An

Wi

And

But

THE

Spanish Descent.

A

POEM.

Ong had this Nation been amus'd in vain
With Posts from Portugal and News from Spain,
With Ormond's Conquests, and the Fleets success,
And Favours from the Moors at Maccanes,
The Learned Mob bought Compasses and Scales,
And every Barber knew the Bay of Cales,
Show'd us the Army here, and there the Fleet,
Here the Troops Land, and there the Foes Retreat.
There at St. Maries how the Spaniard runs,
And listen close as if they heard the Guns,
And some pretend they see them — the Nuns.

Others describe the Castles and Funtals,
And tell how easie 'tis to Conquer Cales,
Wisely propose to let the Silver come,
And help to pay the Nations Debts at home.
But still they count the Spoils without the Cost,
And still the News comes safter than the Post.

The

The graver Heads, like Mountebanks of State
Of Abdication and Revolts Debate,
Expect a Revolution shou'd appear
As Cheap and Easie as it had done here.
Bring the Revolting Grandees to the Coast,
And give the Duke de Anjon up for lost.
Doom him to France to seek relief in vain,
And send for th' Duke of Austria into Spain,
Canvas the Council at Madrid and find
How all the Spanish Courtiers stand enclin'd,
Describe the strange Convulsions of the State,
And old Carrero sacrific'd to Fate:
Then all the Stage of Action they survey,
And wish our Generals knew as much as they.

Some have their Fancies so exceeding Bold
They saw the Queens fall out, and heard 'em scold,
Nor is the thing so strange, for if they did,
It was but from Toledo to Madrid.

And now the Farce is Acting o'er again,
The meaning of our Mischiefs to explain;
The Learned Mob O'er-read in Arms and Law,
The Cause of their Miscarriages foresaw.
Tell us the Loytering Minutes were Mispert
Too long a going, and too few that went.
Exalt the Catolonian Garrison,
The new made Works, the Platform and the Town:
Tell us it was impossible to Land,
And all their Batteries sunk into the Sand.

T

Th

Un

For

Mis

Rigi

And

Some are all Banter, and the Voyage despise, For fruitless Actions seldom pass for Wise,
Tell us 'twas like our English Politicks
To think to wheedle Spain with Hereticks,
The disproportion'd Force they Banter too,
The Ships too many, and the Men too sew.

Then they find fault with Conduct, and condemn Sometimes the Officers, sometimes the Men, Nor 'scapes his Grace the Sasyr of the Town, Whoever fails success, shall fail Renown.

Sir George comes in amongst the Indiscreet,
Sometimes the Army's censur'd, then the Fleet.
How the abandon'd Country they destroy'd,
And made their early Declarations void,
Too hasty Proofs of their Protection gave,
Plund'ring the People, they came there to save.
As if the Spaniards were so plagu'd with France,
To sy to Thieves for their deliverance.

But amongst all the Wisdom of the Town.
The vast designs of Fate remain unknown,
Unguest at, unexpected, hid from thoughts,
for no Man look't for Blessings in our Faults.
Mischances sometimes are a Nations Good,
Rightly Improv'd, and Nicely Understood.

Ten Years we felt the dying Pangs of War and fetch'd our Grief and Miseries from far.

Our English Millions Foreign War maintains,
And English Blood has drencht the Neighbouring Plains.
Nor shall we Blush to Boast what all Men own,
Uncommon English Valour has been shown,
The forward Courage of our Ill Paid Men,
Deserves more Praise than Nature spares my Pen.

What cou'd they not perform, or what endure? Witness the mighty Bastions of Namur. We fasted much, and we attempted more, But ne'er cou'd come to giving thanks before, Unless, 'twas when the Fatal strife was o'er. Some secret Achan Curst our Enterprize, And Israel fled, before her Enemies.

Whether the Poisonous Particles were hid,
In Us that Follow'd, or in Them that Led,
What Fatal Charm benum'd the Nations Sence,
To struggle with Eternal Providence,
Whether some Curse, or else some Perjur'd Vow,
Or some strange Guilt that's expiated now?
Was it the Pilots who ill steer'd the State,
Or was it the Decisive Will of Fate?
'Tis hard to tell, but this too well we know,
All things went backward, or went on too slow,
Small was the Glory, of our High Success,
A tedious War, and an Impersect Peace,
Peace Dearly purchas'd, and which Cost us more
Great Kingdons, than we Conquer'd Towns before.

Actions may miss of their deserv'd Applause, When Heaven approves the Men, and not the Cause, And well contriv'd Designs miscary when, Heaven may approve the Cause, but not the Men, Here then's the Ground of our Expence of Blood, The Sword of Gideon's, not the Sword of God. The Mighty and the Wife are laid aside, And Victory the Sex has Dignified, We have been us'd to Female Conquests here, And Queens have been the Glory of the VVar, The Scene Revives with Smiles of Providence. All things Declin'd before, and Prosper since; And as if Ill-Success had been entail'd, The Posthume Projects are the last that fail'd, As Heaven, whose works were hid from Human view. VVould blaft our old Defigns, and blefs our new.

And now the Baffled Enterprize grows stale,
Their Hopes Decrease, and juster Doubts prevail,
The unattempted Town sings Victory,
And scar'd with VValls, and not with Men, we sly.
Great Conduct in our safe Retreat we shew,
And bravely Re embark, when none pursue:
The Guns, the Ammunition's put on Board;
And what we could not Plunder we Restor'd.
And thus we quit the Andalusian Shores,
Drencht with the Spanish Wine, and Spanish W—s.
With songs of scorn the Arragonians Sing,
And loud Te Deums make the Valleys Ring.

Uncommon Joys now raise the hopes of Spain, And Vigo does their Plate-Fleet entertain.

The

The vast Galleons deep-ballast'd with Ore, Safely reach home to the Galitian shore. The Double Joy spreads from Madrid to Rome, The English fled, the Silver Fleet's come home: From thence it reaches to the Banks of Po, And the loud Cannon lets the Germans know, The Ratling Volleys tell their short-liv'd Joys, And roar Te Deum out in Smoak and Noise. To Millan next it flies on Wings of Fame, There the Young Monarch and his Heroes came, From sad Luzara, and the Mantuan Walls, To feek New Danger and to rescue Cales. His Joy for welcome Treasure he exprest, But grieves at his Good Fortune in the rest. The Flying English he had wish'd to stay, To crown with Conquest one Victorious Day.

The Priests, in high Procession shew their Joy,
And all the Arts of Eloquence employ,
To feed his Pride of fancy'd Victories,
And raise his un-try'd Valour to the Skies.
The flattering Courtiers his vain Mind Posses,
With Airy hopes of Conquest and Success.
Prompt his Young thoughts to run on new Extreams,
And Sycophantick Pride his Heart Inslames:
His Native Crime springs up, his Pulse beats high,
With thoughts of Universal Monarchy;
Fancies his Foreign Enemies suppress,
And boasts too soon, how he'll subdue the rest.
Princes like other Men are Blind to Fate,
He only sees the Event who does the Cause Create.

T

R

H

From hence thro' France the Welcome Tidings fly,
To mock his ancient Sire with Mushroom Joy.
Raptures possess the ambitious Heads of France,
And Golden Hopes their new Designs advance.
Now they Consult to Crush the World agen,
And talk of rifling Christendom for Men.

New Fleets, new Armies, and new Leagues contrive, And swallow Men and Nations up alive. Prescribe no Bounds to their ambitious Pride, But first the Wealth, and then the World divide. Excess of Pride, to airy Madness grows, And makes Men strange Romantick Things propose. The Head turns round, and all the Fancy's vain, And makes the World as Giddy as the Brain. Men that confult fuch weighty Things as those, All possible Disasters should suppose. n vain great Princes mighty Things Invent, While Heaven retains the Power to prevent. He that to General Mischief makes pretence, should first know how to Conquer Providence. such strive in vain, and only shew Mankind, How Tyrants cloath'd with Power, are all enclin'd.

Mean while our Melancholly Fleet steers Home, Some griev'd for past, for suture Mischies some. Disaster swells the Blood, and Spleen the Face; And ripens them for glorious Things apace. With deep Regret they turn their Eyes to Spain, and wish they once might visit her again.

Little.

ur

br

No merit from below, no Signs from Heaven appear'd No hints unless from their high ripen'd Spleen, And strange ungrounded Sympathy within.

The filent Duke from all mis-conduct free,
Alone enjoys the Calm of Honesty:
Fears not his Journal shou'd be fairly shown,
And sighs for England's Errors, not his own.
His constant Temper's all Serene and Clear;
First, free from Guilt, and therefore free from fear.

Not so the rest, for conscious thoughts become More restless now, the nearer they come home. The Party-making Feuds on Board begin: For People always Quarrel when they Sin. Reflect with shame upon the things mif-done, And shift their Faults about from One to One. Prepare Excuses, and compute their Friends, And dread the Fate, which their Defert attends. Some wish for Storms, and curse the Wind and Sails; And dream, no doubt, of Gibbets and of Gaols; Imaginary Punishments appear, And fuited to their fecret Guilt's their fear : Their hast'ning Fate in their own Fancies Read, And few, 'tis fear'd, their Innocence can plead. Then their fweet Spoils to trufty Hands convey, And throw the rifl'd Gods of Spain away: Difgorge the Wealth they dare not entertain, And wish the Nuns their Maidenheads again. Dismiss their Wealth for fear of Witnesses, And purge their Coffers, their Consciences: Curling (127)

urfing their ill got Triflles but in vain: or still the Guilt, and still the fears remain.

Tell us ye Rabbies of abstruser Sense, Vho jumble Fate and Fools with Providence, this the chosen Army, this the Fleet, or which Heaven's Praises sound in every Street? ou'd Heaven provide them one occasion more, who had fo ill-discharg'd themselves before: hat Fleet fo many former Millions loft, o little had Perform'd, fo much had Cost; hat Fleet, so often Mann'd with Knaves before, hat ferv'd us all the War to make us Poor; hat twice had made their fruitless Voyage to Spain, nd faw the Streights, and fo came Home again: Dur Wooden Walls that should defend our Trade, And many a Witless, Wooden Voyage ha' made, low oft have they been fitted out in vain. Wasted our Money, and destroy'd our Men, Betray'd our Merchants, and expos'd their Fleets, And caus'd Eternal Murmurs in our Streets? The Nation's Genius fure prevails above, And Heaven conceals his Anger, shows his Love: The Nations Guardian Angel has prevail'd, And on her Guardian Queen new Favours has entail'd.

Now let glad Europe in her turn rejoyce,
And sing new Triumphs with exalted Voice.
See the glad Post of Tidings wing'd with News,
With suited Speed the wondring Fleet pursues:
His haste discern'd, increases their Surprize,
The more they wonder, and the more he slies.

Nor Wind, nor Seas, proportion'd speed can bear; For Joy and Hope have swifter Wings than Fear. With what Surprize of Joy they meet the News! Joys, that to every Vein new Spirits infuse. The wild Excess in Shouts and Cries appear: For Joys and Griess are all irregular.

Councils of War, for fake of Forms they call, But shame admits of no Disputes at all. How should they differ, where no doubt can be be? But if they shou'd accept of Victory, Whether they shou'd the great occasion take, Or baffle Heaven, and double their mistake; Whether the naked and defenceless Prize They shou'd accept; Or Heaven, and that dispise? Whether they shou'd revive their Reputation; Or fink it twice, and twice betray the Nation? Who dare the horrid Negative defign? Who dare the last suggest, the first decline? Envy her felf: For Satan's always there, And keeps his Councils with the God of a Wor. Tho' with her fwelling Spleen she seem'd to burst, will'd the Design, while the Event she curs'd.

The word's gone out, and now they spread the Main With swelling Sails, and swelling Hopes for Spain.

With double Vengeance prest, where e'er they come, Resolv'd to pay the haughty Spaniard home.

Resolv'd by suture Conduct to attone,

For all our past Mistakes, and all their own.

New Life springs up in every English Face,

And sits them all for glorious Things apace.

th

in

ie i

le i

h

th

e Booty some excites, and some the Cause; t more the Hope to gain their lost Applause. ger their sully'd Honour to restore, me Anger Whets, some Pride, and Vengeance more.

The lazy Minutes now pass on too slow:

ncy flies faster than the Winds can blow.

patient Wishes lengthen out the Day;

ley chide the loytering Winds for their Delay:

t Time is Natures faithful Messenger,

nd brings up all we wish, as well as all we fear.

The Mists clear up, and now the Scout discries to subject of their Hopes and Victories: the wish'd for Fleets embay'd, in Harbour lye, that to fight, and more unfit to fly. The sumphant Joy throughout the Navy slies, cho'd from Shore with Terrour and Surprize.

Tange Power of Noise! which at one simple sound, tonce shall some incourage, some consound.

In vain the Lion tangl'd in the snare, thanguish roars, and rends the trembling Air. is vain to struggle with Almighty Fate: in and impossible the Weak Debate. It mighty Booms, the Forts resist in vain, It Guns with fruitless Force in Noise complain. It how the Troops intrepidly fall on! Is for more Foes: and think they say too soon. It eager Fury to their Forts pursue, It think the odds of Four to One too form.

The Land's first Conquer'd, and the Prize attends, Fate beckens in the Fleet to back their Friends. Despair succeeds: They struggle now too late, And soon submit to their prevailing Fate. Courage is madness when Occasion's past: Death's the securest Resuge and the last.

And now the rolling Flames come threatning on, And mighty streams of melted Gold run down. The staming Oar down to its Center makes, To form new Mines beneath the Oazy Lakes.

Here a Galeon with Spicy Drugs inflam'd, In Odoriferous folds of Sulphur stream'd. The Gods of old no such Oblations knew, Their Spices weak, and their Persumes but sew. The frighted Spaniard's from their Treasures sty, Loth to forsake their Wealth, but loth to die.

Here a vast Carrack slies, while none pursue,
Bulg'd on the Shoar by her distracted Crew:
'There like a mighty Mountain she appears,
And Groans beneath the Golden weight she bears.
Conquest perverts the Property of Friend,
And makes Men ruin what they can't defend.
Some blow their Treasure up into the Air,
With all the wild Excesses of Despair.
Strange Fate! that War such odd Events shou'd have;
Friends wou'd destroy, and Enemies wou'd save.
Others their Sasety to their Wealth prefer,
And mix some small Discretion with their Fear.

ch

ot

10

nt

et :

nd

Bi

e's the best Gift that Nature can bestow; e first that we receive, the last which we forgo: d he that's vainly Prodigal of Blood, seits his Sense to do his Cause no good. Desperation's the Effect of Fear; rage is Temper, Valour can't Despair.

And now the Victory's compleatly gain'd; Ships to Conquer now, no Foes remain'd. e mighty Spoils exceed what e'er was known, at Vanquish'd ever lost, or Victor won. great, if Fame shall future Times remind, ey'll think she lyes, and Libels all Mankind.

Well may the Pious Queen New Anthems raise, ag her own Fortunes, and Her Makers Praise; vite the Nation willing Thanks to pay: and well may all the mighty Ones obey. may they sing, be always so preserved, Grace unwished, and Conquest undeserved.

Now let us Welcome Home the Conquering Fleet, and all their well atton'd Mistakes forget: ch high Success shou'd all Resentments drown'd, othing but joy and welcome shou'd be found. o more their past Miscarriages reprove; at bury all in Gratitude and Love. et their high Conduct have a just Regard, and meaner Merit meet a kind Reward.

But now what Fruits of Victory remain?

OHeaven what Praise, what Gratitude to Man?

b

Let France sing Praise for shams of Victories,
And mock their Maker with Religious Lies:
But England blest with thankful Hearts shall raise,
For mighty Conquests, mighty Songs of Praise.

She needs no false pretences to deceive:

VVhat all Men see, all Men must needs believe.

Our Joy can hardly run into Excess,

The well known Subject all our Foes confess:

VVe can't desire more, they can't pretend no less.

ANNE, like her Great Progenitor, sings Praise:
Like her she Conquers, and like her she Prays,
Like her she Graces and Protects the Throne,
And counts the Lands Prosperity her own:
Like her, and long like her, be bless'd her Reign,
Crown'd with new Conquests, and more Fleets from

See now the Royal Chariot comes amain,
VVith all the willing Nation in her Train,
VVith humble Glory, and with folemn Grace,
Queen in her Eyes, and Christian in her Face.
With Her, Her represented Subjects joyn;
And when she Prays th' whole Nation says, Amen.

VVith Her, in Stalls the Illustrious Nobles sat, The Cherubims and Seraphims of State:

ANNE like a Comet in the Center shone,
And they like Stars that circumfere the Sun.
She great in them, and they as great in Her;
Sure Heaven will such Illustrious Praises hear.
The crouding Millions hearty Blessings pour:
Saint Paul ne'er saw but one such Day before.

be Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England, Examined and Asserted.

To the KING.

SIR.

Majesty's Character, That as you are King of Your ople, so You are the Peoples King.

This Title, as it is the Most Glorious, so is it the Most

disputable in the VVorld.

God himself appointed, the Prophet proclaim'd, but Peoples assent was the finishing the Royal Authority

the first King of Israel.

Your Majesty, among all the Blessings of your Reign, restor'd this, as the best of all our Enjoyments, the full berty of Original Right in its Actings and Exercise.

Former Regins have Invaded it, and the last thought totally supprest, but as Liberty revived under Your jesty's just Authority, this was the first Flower she

ought Forth.

Th

The Author of these Sheets humbly hopes, That what ur Majesty has so Gloriously Restor'd, what our Laws d Constitution have Declared and Settled, and what uth and Justice openly appears for, he may be allow'd Vindicate.

Your Majesty knows too well the Nature of Governnt, to think it at all the less Honourable, or the more ecarious, for being Devolv'd from and Center'd in the

nsent of your People.

The pretence of Patriarchal Authority, had it really uninterrupted Succession, can never be supported inst the demonstrated Practice of all Nations; but being

being also Divested of the chief Support it might have had, if that Succession could have been prov'd: The Authority of Governours, Jure Divino has sunk Ignominiously to the Ground, as a preposterous and incomfistent Forgery.

And yet, if Vox Populi be, at 'tis generally allow'd Vox Dei, Your Majesty's Right to these Ringdoms Jun Divino, is more plain than any of your Predecessors.

How happy are these Nations, after all the Oppression and Tyranny of Arbitrary Rulers, to obtain a King who Reigns by the universal Voice of the People, and has the greatest share in their Affections that ever any Prince of joy'd, Queen Elizabeth only Excepted.

And how vain are the Attempts of a Neighbouring Prince, to Nurse up a Contemptible Imposture, upon the pretence of Forming a Claim on the Foundation of but a pretended Succession, against the Consent of the general

11

is

bi

ethick

be g

Leco

phat

17.

he p

A

be R

ody

mes

Suffrage of the Nation.

To what purpose shall all the Proofs of his Legitiman be, supposing it could be made out, when the universal Voice of the People already express'd in enacted Laws, shall at

fwer, We will not have this Man to Reign over us.

May this Affection of Your Subjects contine to the latest Hour of Your Life, and may Your Satisfaction to such as may convince the World, That the Chiefest Fellicity of a Crown consists in the Affections, as the first Authority of it derives from the Consent of the People.

To the LORDS Spiritual and Temporal, and the COMMONS of England.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE Vindication of the Original Right of all Men II the Government of themselves, is so far from I Derogation from, that it is a Consirmation of your Legal Asthority.

Your Lordships, who are of the Nobility, have your Original Right, your Titles and Dignities from the Greatness

our Shares in the Freeholds of the Nation: If Merit has raised any of your Ancestors to distinguishing Honours, or, if the Royal Favours of Princes has Dignified Families, it has always the theoretical fit to bastow, or to enable them to Purchase a Portion of the Freehold of England to be annexed to the said Titles, to make such Dignities rational, as well as to support the Succession of Honour.

From hence you are vested with Sovereign Judicature, as eing the properest to be trusted with the Distribution of Julice in that Country, of which you were supposed to have, and

nce had, the principal Propriety.

From hence you sit in Parliament as a Branch of our Confitution, being part of the Collective Body, representing no Body but your selves; and as a Testimony that the Original of

Il Power Centers in the whole.

The rest of the Freeholders have Originally a Right to sit here with you, but being too numerous a Body, they have long ince agreed that whenever the King thinks sit to advise with is People, they will chuse a certain sew out of their Great Body to meet together with your Lordships.

Here, in Short, is the Original of Parliaments, and here, f Power at any time meets with a Cess, if Government and brones become Vacant, to this Original all Power of Course turns. This is the happy Center in the great Circle of Poli-

ick Order.

From hence at the late Revolution, when the King deserted he Administration, and His present Majesty was in Arms n England, Nature directed the People to have Recourse to our Lordships, and to desire your Appearance as the Heads of he great Collective Body; and all the Champions for the great Arguments of Divine Right could not in that Exigence have becourse to one President, nor to One Rule of Proceeding, but hat Nature would have Distated to the Meanest Judgment; it. That the Nation being left without a Governour; he proprietors should meet to consider of another:

And you Gentlemen of the House of Commons, who are ne Representatives of your Country, you are this great Collective ody in Minature, you are an Abridgment of the many 18=

mes of the English Nation.

To you they have trustee jointly with the King and the Lords, the Power of making Laws, raising Taxes, and Impeaching Criminals: But how? 'Tis in the Name of all the Commons of England, whose Representatives you are.

All your Power is yours, as you are a Full and Free Reprepresentative. I no where attempt to prove what Powers you have not, possibly the Extent of your Legal Authority was never fully understood, nor have you ever thought fit to explain it. But this I may be bold to advance, That whatever Powers you have, or may have, you cannot Exercise but in the Nam of the Commons of England, and you enjoy them as this Representatives, and for their Use.

All this is not said to lessen your Authority; Nor can it he interest of any English Freeholder to lessen the Authorin

of the Commons assembled in Parliament.

You are the Conservators of our Liberties, the Exposum of our Laws, the Levyers of our Taxes, and the Redressors our Grievances, the King's best Councellors, and the People last Refuge.

But if you are Dissolved, for you are not immortal; or you are Deceived, for you are not Infalliable; 'twas never you supposed, till every lately, that all Power dies with you.

You may Die, but the People remain; you may be Dissolved and all immediate Right may cease; Power may have its Intevals, and Crowns their Interregnum; but Original Power endures to the same Eternity the World endures to: And while there is People, there may be a Legal Authority Delegated though all Succession of Substituted Power were at an End.

Nor have I advanced any new Doctrine, nothing but the is as ancient as Nature, and born into the World with a Reason: And I think it would be a Sin against the Parliames of England, to suggest that they would be offended either with the Doctrine or with the Author, since 'tis what their own he thority is built upon, and what the Laws of England has given their assent unto by confirming the Acts of the last Collective Body of the People, from whence the present Suth ment of the Nation does derive.

E

an

tic

fin

fer

of

of.

are fen

fo

Wherefore I make no Apology for Protection or Favour as to the Fact; as to Language I am ready to ask Pardon if I offend, declaring my Intention is neither for nor against either Person or Party. As there is but One Interest in the Nation, I wish there were but One Party, and that Party would adhere to Unbyas'd Justice, and pursue the Honour and Interest of the Protestant Religion, and the English Liberty.

The Original Right of the People of England, Examined and Asserted.

Have observ'd, when Interest obliges any Person or Party to defend the Cause they have Espous'd, they please themselves with fancying they conceal their private Designs, by covering their Discourses with Gay Titles.

Like a late Act of Parliament, which in the Preamble calls it felf, An Act for the Relief of Creditors, but in its

Effect was really an Act for the Relief of Debtors.

ttil

Thus some Gentlemen place fine specious Titles on their Books, as Jura Populi Anglicani, A Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of England, and a Vindication of the Rights of the Lords, and the like; and with large and high Encomiums upon the Excellency of our Constitution, treat the levity of some Peoples Judgments with sine Notions; whereas the true End and Design is defending the Interest and Party they have Espous'd.

The Defence of the Rights of the Representative Body of the People, understood by the Name of the Commons of England in Parliament, is a great Point; and so plain are their Rights, that 'tis no extraordinary Task to defend them: But for any Man to advance, that they are so August an Assembly, that no Objection ought to be

1. 2

made

made to their Actions, nor no Reflection upon their Conduct, though the Fact be true; and that it is not to be examin'd whether the Thing said be true, but what Authority the Person speaking has to say it, is a Do. Urine wholly new, and seems to me to be a Badge of more Slavery to our own Representative than ever the People of England owes them, or than ever they themselves expected.

This therefore, together with some Invasions of the Peoples Rights made publick by several Modern Authors, are the Reasons why I have adventur'd, being wholly Disinterested and unconcerned either for Persons or Parties, to make a short Essay at declaring the Rights of the People of England, not Representatively but Collectively con-

sidered.

And with due Deference to the Representative Body of the Nation, I hope I may say, it can be no Diminution of their Rights, to assert the Rights of that Body from whom they derive the Powers and Priviledges of their House, and which are the very Foundation of their Being. For if the Original Right of the People be overthrown, the Power of the Representative, which is subsequent and subordinate, must dye of it felf.

And because I have to do rather with Reason and the Nature of the Thing, than with Laws and Precedents, I shall make but very little use of Authors, and Quotations of Statutes, since Fundamentals and Principles are supe-

rior to Laws or Examples.

To come directly to what I design in the following Papers, 'tis necssary to lay down some Maxims, other than what a late * Author has

the Commons. furnish'd us with.

ment, and confequently our whole Constitution, was originally design'd, and is maintain'd, for the Support of the Peoples Property, who are the Governed.

2. That all the Members of Government, whether King, Lords or Commons, if they Invert the Great

End

End of their Institution, the publick Good cease to be in the same publick Capacity.

And Power retreats to its Original.

3. That no Collective or Representative Boly of Men whatsoever, in Matters of Politicks any more than Reli-

gion, are or ever have been Infallible.

4. That Reason is the Test and Touch-stone of Laws, and that all Law or Power that is Contradictory to Reason, is ipso Fasto void in it self, and oright not to be obey'd.

These four Generals run through the whole following

Discourse.

ir

ot

ore

ole

X-

he

rs,

to

ole n-

dA

10%

MC

715

le-

er-

he

, 1

ons

ne-

2.

has

rn-

was

ip.

er-

her

eat nd Some other Maxims less General are the Consequence

of these; as,

First, That such Laws as are agreeable to Reason and Justice being once made, are binding both to King, Lords and Commons, either separately, or conjunctively, till they are actually Repealed in due Form.

That if either of the Three Powers do Dispence with, Suspend, or otherwise Break any of the known Laws so

made, they Injure the Constitution; and the Power so acting ought to be restrained by the other Powers not concurring according to what is lately allowed,

That every Branch of l'ower is designed as a Check upon

each other.

But if all the Three Powers should join in such an Irregular Action, The Constitution suffers a Convulsion,

Dies, and is Dissolved of Course.

Nor does it suffice to say, That King, Lords and Commons can do no wrong, since the mutual Consent of Parties, on which that soolish Maxim is grounded, does not extend to every Action King, Lords and Commons are capable of doing.

There are Laws which respect the Common Rights of the People, as they are the Parties to be Governed, and with respect to these the King can do no Wrong,

L 3

10115

but all is laid upon his Ministers — who are accountable.

ari by

an

mi

be

fuc

ers

of

ftr

fer

ille

no

Pl

Ca

Re

fho

fuc

pa

th

to

to

me

br

La

bo

no

me

the

be

to

2]

And there are Laws which particularly respect the Constitution; the King, Lords and Commons, as they are the Parties governing: In this regard each Branch, may Wrong and Oppress the other, or altogether, may do Wrong to the People they are made to Govern.

The King may Invade the Peoples Properties, and if the Lords and Commons omit to defend and protect them, they all do Wrong, by a Tacit approving those Abu-

fes they ought to oppose.

The Commons may extend their Power to an exorbitant Degree, in Imprisoning the Subjects, Dispensing with the Habeas Corpus Act, giving unlimited Power to their Sergeant to Oppress the People in his Custody, withholding Writs of Election from Burroughs and Towns and several other Ways; which if they are not Check'd either by the King, or the Lords, they are altother Parties to the Wrong, and the Subject is apparently injured.

The Lords may Err in Judicature, and deny Justice to the Commons, or delay it upon Punctillioes and studied Occasions, and if neither the King nor the Commons take care to prevent it, Delinquents are excused, and Criminals encouraged, and all are Guilty of the Breach of

Common Justice.

That to prevent this, it is absolutely necessary that in Matters of dispute the single Power should be Governed by the Joint, and that nothing should so be insisted upon as to break the Correspondence.

That the Three should be directed by the Law; and

where that is filent, by Reafon.

That every Person concern'd in the Law is in his Measure a judge of the Reason, and therefore in his proper place ought to be allowed to give his Reason in Case of Dissent.

That every fingle Power has an absolute Negative upon the Acts of the Other; and if the People, who

are without Doors, find Reason to Object, they may do it

by Petition.

But because under pretence of Petitioning, Seditious and Turbulent People may foment Disturbances, Tumults and Disorders: The Subjects Right of Petitioning being yet recogniz'd and preserv'd, the Circumstances of such Petitions are regulated by Laws, as to the Numbers and Qualities of the Persons Petitioning.

But the Laws have no where prescrib'd the Petitioners to any Form of Words, and therefore no pretence of Indecency of Expression can be so Criminal as to be destructive of the Constitution; because, though it may deserve the Resentment of the Petitioned, yet it is not an

illegal Act, nor a Breach of any Law.

And yet the Representative Body of the People ought not to be banter'd or Affronted neither, at the Will and Pleasure of any private Person without Doors, who finds Cause to Petition them.

But if any Expression be offensive to the House, it seems Reasonable that the Persons who are concerned therein should be required to explain themselves: And if upon such Explanation the House sind no Satisfaction as to the particular Affront, they are at Liberty to proceed as

the Law directs; but no otherwise.

And to me, the Silence of the Law in that Case seems to imply, that rejecting the Pitition is a Contempt due to any Indecency of that Nature, and as much Resentment as the Nature of the Thing requires: But as to breaking in upon Personal Liberty, which is a Thing the Law is so Tender of, and has made so strong a Fence about, I dare not affirm 'tis a justifiable Procedure; no, not in the House of Commons.

It is alledged, That it has been practiced by all Parliaments; which is to me far from an Argument to prove

the Legality of it.

I think it may pass for a Maxim, That a Man cannot be Legally punished for a Crime which there is no Law to prosecute. Now since there is no Law to prosecute a Man for indecency of Expression in a Petition to the

House

House of Commons, it remains a doubt with me how

they can be Legally punish'd.

Precedents are of Use to the Houses of Parliament where the Laws are silent, in Things relating to them selves, and are doubtless a sufficient Authority to Ast from. But whether any Precedent, Usage or Custom, of any Body of Men whatever, can make a Thing Lawful which the Laws have expreshy forbid, remains a Doubt with me.

It were to be wish'd some of our Parliaments would think fit, at one Time or another, to clear up the Point of the Authority of the House of Commons, in Case of imprisoning such as are not of their House, that having the Matter stated by those who are the only Expositors of our Laws, we might be troubled with no more Legion Libels, to tell them what is, or is not, Legal in their

Proceedings.

The Good of the People Governed is the End of all Government, and the Reason and Original of Government; and upon this Foundation it is that it has been the Practice of all Nations, and of this in particular, That if the Male-Administration of Governors have extended to Tyranny and Oppression, to Destruction of Right and Justice, overthrowing the Constitution, and abusing the People, the People have thought it Lawful to Reassume the Right of Government in their own Hands, and to reduce their Governors to Reason.

The present Happy Restoring of our Liberty and Con-

flitution is owing to this Fundamental Maxim.

That Kings when they descend to Tyranny, Dissolve the Bond, and leave the Subject free.

If the People are Justifiable in this Procedure against the King, I hope I shall not be censur'd if I say, that if any one should ask me, whether they have not the same Right in the same Cases, against any of the Three Heads of the Conflictation. I dare not answer in the Negative.

inc

Ki

Vo

and

716

y,

La

Ho

Ki

me

Pe

ot

10

ag

ap

ta

of

be

Tu

th

A bi

th

I may be allow'd to suppose any Thing which is possible; and I will therefore venture to suppose, That in the late King's Reign the House of Commons, then sitting, had Voted the Restoration of Popery in England, in Compliance with the King's Inclination.

I doubt not but it had been Lawful for the Grand Juries, Justices of the Peace, and Free-holders of any County, or of every County, to have Petition'd the House of Commons not to proceed in giving up their Religion and

Laws.

And in Case of Refusal there, they might Petition the

House of Lords not to have pass'd such a Bill.

And in Case of Resusal there, they might Petition the King, and put him in Mind of His Coronation Engagement.

And in Case of Refusal to that Petition, they might Petition the King again to Dissolve the Parliament, or

otherwise to protect their Liberties and Religion.

And if all these Peaceable Applications sailed, I doubt not but they might Associate for their mutual Desence against any Invasion of their Liberties and Religion, and apply themselves to any Neighbouring Power or Potentate for Assistance and Protection.

If this be not true, I can give but a flender Account of our late Revolution; which nevertheless I think to be founded upon the exact Principles of Reason and

Justice.

Nor will the Pretence of Indecency of Expression be any Argument to bar the Subject of his Right of Petitioning, or justifie the ill Treatment of such Petitioners: For the Case exceedingly differs from the supposed Case of the Lord Chancellor, and the Complaint which a late Author brings in, desiring the Lord Chancellor to turn his plansible Speeches into Righteous Decrees.

first of all, The Freeholders of England stand in a different Capacity to the Members of the House, who are their Trustees, their Attorneys, their Representatives, from that of a Complainant in Chancery to the Judge of

that Court.

•

Secondly, The Lord Chancellor has a Right by Law to Commit for personal Affronts offered in Court: Whe ther the House of Commons have the same Right by Law I know not, nor will not undertake to determine; but do not find that Worthy Member has yet attempted to prove they have.

Thirdly, This is arguing from the Inferiour Court to the Parliament of England, which is directly against Sir H. M.'s late Position, Fol. 4. where he had, as I suppose,

forgot that he had laid us down this Rule.

"When there is Occasion to Debate concerning these Superiour Powers of King, Lords and Commons, we must not argue like Lawyers in Westminster-Hall, from the native row Foundation of private Causes of Meum and Tuum; but like Statesmen and Senators, from the Large and Noble Foundation of Government, and the general Good of the King and People-

Fourthly, But I am also informed, that the Case is wrong too, and that even in that instance: The Lord Chancellor had no Power to Commit to the Fleet, unless it were at

il

hu

u

li

0

Co

ne

he

an

he

ed

Th:

ind

Affront, Viva Voce, in Court.

Nor would it be any Argument in the supposed Case I am upon, for any Body to say, That the Occasion must concern that part of the Country from whence such Petition is brought: For the Introducing of Popery would certainly concern every County of England.

And suppose again, the People thought themselves in danger of an Invasion from France, and thereupon the Counties of Kent and Suffex should have Petitioned the House to take them into Consideration, who, in such Case, were like to be the Seat of the War, and first Exposed to the Enemy; Would any Body say, the Occasion did not arise in the County from whence such Petition did proceed.

In this Universal Right of the People consists Our general Safety: For notwithstanding all the Beauty of our Con-

V to

he-

Law

utl

to

t to

Sir

ofe,

upe-

710t

ar.

m;

the

ng lor

20

Ced

ca-

om

ng of

he

ch

X.

01

ich some have been so very Elegant, this noble wellmirived System has been Overwhelmed; the Government
s been Inverted, the Peoples Liberties have been
ampled on, and Parliaments have been rendred useles
d infignificant: And what has restored us? The last
esfort has been to the People; Vox Dei has been sound
ere, not in the Representatives, but in their Original
me Represented.

And what has been the Engine that has led the Natin to it? The Reason and Nature of the Thing. Rean governs Men when they are Masters of their Sences, snaturally as Fire slies upwards, or Water descends.

For what is it that King, Lords and Commons affemle? 'Tis to Reason together Concerning the weighty latters of the State, and to Act and Do for the Good f the People, what shall be agreeable to Reason and assistance.

I grant 'tis reasonable that every Branch should be ested with due Powers, and those Powers be equally istributed.

But if they must be vested with Power, some Body nust vest them with it: If these Powers must be dustriuted, some Body must distribute them. So that

Their must be some Power Prior to the Power of ling, Lords and Commons, for which, as the Streams com the Fountain, the Power of King, Lords and lommons is derived.

And what are all the different Terms which Statesten turn so often into fine Words to serve their Ends; so Reason of State, Publick Good, the Commonwealth, he English Constitution, the Government, the Laws of England, the Liberties of England, the Fleets, the Armies, he Militia of England, the Trade, the Manusactures of England? All are but several Terms drawn from and reducible to the great Term, the People of England. That's the General, which contains all the Particulars, and which had all Power before any of the Particulars had a Being. And from this Consideration it is, that some

who yet would be Opposers of this Doctrine, say, what it serves their Turn, that all the Great Offices which have the Title of England annexed to them, ought to be Nominated and Approv'd by the People of England, as the High Chancellor of England, High Admiral of England, and the like.

That Power which is Original, is Superior; God is the Fountain of all Power, and therefore is the Supreme: And we could suppose a Prior and Original of the Divin Power, that Original would be God, and be Superiour; for all subsequent Power must be subject and inferiour to the precedent.

The Power vested in the Threee Heads of our Constitution, is vested in them by the People of England, who were a People before there was such a thing as a

Constitution.

And the Nature of the Thing, is the Reason of the Thing: It was vested in them by the People, because the People were the only Original of their Power, being the only Power Priorn the Constitution.

For the publick Good of the People, a Constitution and Government was Originally Formed; from the mutual Consent of these People the Powers and Authoritis of this Constitution are derived: And for the preservation of this Constitution, and enabling it to answer the Ends of its Institution in the best manner possible, those Powers were divided.

The second Maxim is a Rational Natural Consequence of the former, That at the final, Casual, or any other Determination of this Constitution, the Powers are dissolved, and all Authority must derive de novo from the first Fountain, Original and Cause of all Constitutions, the Governed.

Now it cannot be supposed this Original Fountain should give up all its Waters, but that it reserves a Power of supplying the Streams: Nor has the Streams any power to turn back upon the Fountain, and invert its own Original. All such Motions are Excentrick and Unnatural.

There

he

NG

1

ve

en

nc

d

n

here must always remain a Supream Power in the Origical to supply, in Case of the Dissolution of Delegated ower.

The People of England have Delegated all the Execuve Power in the King, the Legislative in the King, Lords
ad Commons, the Sovereign Judicature in the Lords, the
emainder is reserved in themselves, and not committed,
onot to their Representatives: All Powers Delegated
te to one great End and purpose, and no other, and
nat is the Publick Good. If either, or all the Branches
whom this Power is Delegated invert the Design, the
nd of their Power, the Right they have to that Power
safes; and they become Tyrants and Usurpers of a
ower they have no Right to.

The Instance has been visible as to Kings in our Days; d History is full of Precedents in all Ages, and in all ations; particularly in Spain, in Portugal, in Swede-

nd, in France, and in Poland.

But in England, the late Revolution is a particular In-

ance of the Exercise of this Power.

King James, on the Approach of a Foreign Army, of the general recourse of the People to Arms, sled out the Kingdom. What must the People of England o? They had no Reason to run after him; there was a Body to call a Parliament, so the Constitution was ntirely Dissolv'd.

The Original of Power, the People, Assembled in Conention to consider of Delegating New Powers for their sture Government, and accordingly made a New Setement of the Crown, a New Declaration of Right, and a New Representative of the People; and what if should say they ought to have given a New Sanstion to all pre-

dent Laws.

Tt

to

1-

1-

10

[e

6-

d,

f

be

in er

17

ts

re

It remains to argue from hence, But what Course will the People of England take, if their Representatives rereise the Power entrusted with them, to the Ruin of the Constitution?

It has been advanced, That every Man must submit, id not presume to argue against it upon any Supposition Mismanagement.

I can see no Reason given to confirm such a Position for unless we will place the Original of Power in the Persons Represented it cannot be made out that there ought to be no com

plaint upon the score of our Mismanagement.

It is not the Design of this Discourse to lessen the Authority of Parliament: But all Power must Centre some where. If it is in the Three Branches of the Constitution, 'tis there inherently and originally, or its there by Deputation, If it be there by Deputation then there must be a Power Deputing, and that must both Prior, and consequently Superiour to the Deputed, as before.

If we will come off of this, we must fly to the off weak Resuge of a Power Jure Divino, a Doctrine which the most samous Pretenders to, have liv'd to be assame of, and whose Foundation is so weak, that 'tis no

worth while to expose it,

I should therefore have been very glad, that forth Persecting the Desence of the English Constitution, the Gentlemen who have begun so well, would have gow sorward to Recognize the Power of the People of England, and their undoubted Right to judge of the last fractions made in their Constitution, by either Partis abusing the particular Powers vested in them; and in verting them, by turning them against the People the are design'd to desend.

That they would have stated fairly what the People of England are to do, if their Representatives shall here after betray the Liberties or Religion of the People the

are intrusted with the Defence of.

What by the Laws of Nature and Reason is to be expected, and what by the Laws of our Constitution are allow'd.

To fay, It cannot be supposed the House of Commons can ever betray their Trust, is a Compliment No Man is bound to make them, Humanum est Erran We have seen Parliaments Err, and do what succeeding Parliaments have thought sit to undo. And as the

In

pl

hich has been may be, so that may be, which never has

een before.

tion

n th

ntel

Com

n the

entr

Con

iti

tion

fth

ери-

eol

hid

amid

not the

gone En-

la ties

in he

10

101

nti

grt.

We have feen Parliaments comply with Kings to the uine of the Nation; and we have feen Parliaments Duarrel with Kings, to the Overturning of the Constiution, Dissolving the House of Lords, and Suppressing he Monarchy.

We have feen Parliaments concur fo with the Fate nd Fortunes of Princes, as to comply backward and forvard, in Deposing and Reinthroning alternately two Kings as ofen as Victory put Power into their Hands, I nean Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fourth, who were Kings and Prisoners five or fix times, and always the Parliament complied with the Conquerors.

We have seen a Parliament of England confirm'd the Uurpation of Richard the Third, the greatest Tyrant and nost bloody Man that ever England brought forth.

We have feen a Parliament confirm Henry the Seventh, who really had no Right at all by Succession, and Rescind

all the Precedent Parliament had done.

Afterwards, in Matters of Religion, King Henry the Eighth made a Popish Parliament pull down the Supremacy of Rome, and set up the Kings; and afterwards suppress all the Religious Houses in the Nation. His Son pulled up Popery by the Roots, and planted the Reformation, fill the Parliament complied. Queen Mary Re establish'd Popery, and unravelled both the Reformation of King Edward, and all the Acts of Church and State relating to her Mothers Divorce, and still the Parliament consent-One Parliament Voted Queen. Mary Legitimate, and Queen Elizabeth a Bastard: Another Parliament Legitimated Queen Elizabeth, and Repudiated Queen Mary. Queen Elizabeth undid all her Sister had done, and suppress'd all the proceedings of Popery; and all was by Authority of Parliament.

So that this Parliamentary Branch of Power is no more

Infallible than the Kingly.

Had Sir H. M. gone on to have Recogniz'd the Peoples Right, to preserve their own Liberties in case of feilure failure in any, or in all the Branches of the Constituted Power, he had compleated his Vindication of the Commons of England, which no Man could have done better than himself.

on of Common Justice, the Center of Power is in the People, a Fortiori. The People are also concerned in every

Degree of Such a Subversion.

And 'tis the most reasonable thing in the World, that those who upon a total Subversion are the Sufferers, and have a Right to the Re-establishment, should have a Right to take Cognisance of any Degree of Invasion made upon their Right, and which tends to that general Subversion.

'Twould be Nonsence to suppose, that which has all

the Greater Powers should not have the Less.

Can the Peoples Good be the main and only End of Government, and the Peoples Power be the last Reson when Government is overwhelmed by the Errors of Governors? And have these People no Right, not so much as to be sensible of the Ruine of their Liberties, till its

absolutely compleated? Twould be ridiculous.

The truth is in right Reasoning, the first Invasion made upon Justice, either by the tacit or actual Assent of the three Heads of our Constitution, is an actual Dissolution of the Constitution; and, for ought I can see, the People have a right to diposses the Incumbent, and commit the Trust of Government, de Novo, upon that first Act.

But I chuse rather to put the Argument upon total Subversions of Right, Order and Desence, and I am surem Body will dispute it with me there.

And here, if I have any forefight, lies an absolute Security for us against that Bug-bear, which so many pretend

to be frighted at, a Commonwealth.

The Genius of this Nation has always appear'd to tend to a Monarchy, a legal limited Monarchy, and having had in the late Revolution a full and uninterrupted Liberty, to Cast themselves into what Form of Government

fe

hey pleas'd: There was not discovered the least Inclinaion in any party towards a Common-wealth, though the reatment they met with from their last two Kings, had ill in it that could be, to put them out of Love with Mo-

archy.

ted

ter

pti.

eo-

ery

hat

and

e a

(ion

eral

all

d

fort

Go.

ruch

it is

fion

it of

illo

the

and

that

Sub-

reno

curi.

tend

tend

d Li-

ment

A Common-wealth can never be introduc'd, but by uch Invalions of Right, as must make our constituted Government impracticable; The Reason is, because Men never willingly change for the Worst; and the People of England enjoy more Freedom in our Regal, han any People in the World can do in a Popular Goternment.

The People of England can never chuse a Commonrealth Government, till they come to desire less Libery than they now enjoy; that is, till they come to be lind to their own Interest. Tis true, Example is no rgument; but I might freely Appeal to the Friends of the last Republick in England to answer this Question.

Whether the People of England, during the short Goernment of Parliament here, which was erroneously alled a Common-wealth, did, or whether they can uner any Common-wealth Government, founded never wisely, enjoy greater Privileges and Advantages can under the present Constitution in its full and free xercise, uninterrupted by the Excesses of Kings, evil councellors, Parties and Passions.

If any shall presend that the late Parliament is aimed tin this, I hope I may have as much Liberty to suppose may are mistaken; for the Days of Judging by Inuendo

re at an end.

If any thing seem to lie that way, the Error must be theirs who have so mean thoughts of them, as to think the Coat will sit them; if it does, they are welcome to wear. For my part, I declare my self to intend only the tinging things to such a right Understanding, as may reserve the Ballance of Power; and, I hope, I cannot send any Free Representative of the People of England saying, that what Power they have they receive from People they represent, and, That some Powers do fill re-

main with the People, which they never either divefted

themselves of, or committed to them.

Nor can I be sensible of offending, if I say, that 'til possible for even a House of Commons to be in the Wrong. Tis possible for a House Commons to be missed by Factions and Parties. 'Tis possible for them to be Brib'd by Pensions and Places, and by either of these Extreams to betray their Trust, and abuse the People who entrust them: And if the People should have no Redress in such a Case, then would the Nation be in the hazard of being ruined by their own Representatives. And 'tis a wonder to find it afferted in a certain Treatise, That it is not to be supposed that ever the House of Commons can injust the People who intrust them. There can be no better way to demonstrate the possibility of a Thing, than by proving that it has been already.

And we need go no farther back than to the Reignof King Charles the Second, in which we have feen Lift of 180 Members who received private Pensions from the Court; and if any Body shall ask whether that Parliament preserved the Ballance of Power, in the three Branches of our Constitution, in the due Distribution some have mentioned, I am not afraid to answer in the

n

of

th

DU

Fo

fo

M

Br

wb

ושער

ral,

noi

ofi

land

and

WH

Negative.

And why, even to this day, are Gentlemen so fond a spending their Estates to sit in that House, that ten thousand Pounds have been spent at a time to be Chosen, and now that way of procuring Elections, is at an end, provide Briberies, and Clandestine Contrivances are made use of to get into the House. No Man would give to Groat to sit where he cannot get a Groat honestly for siting unless there were either Parties to gratisse, Prosits to be made or Interest to support.

It then these things are possible, it seems to me no so improper for the People, who are the Original and End of the Constitution, and have the main concern in it, to be very sollicitous that the due Ballance of Power be preserved, and decently; and, according to Law always to shew their Dislike and Resentment at an

(153.)

publick Encroachment, which either Branch of the Constitution shall make on each other, of on the whole, be it by their own Representatives or any where

elle.

is di h

M

11-

cc

01

the

100

priade

e l

ade

no an

n i

W

Lav

pub

If it is expected that I should descend to particular Matters, debated between the two Houses in the last Sellion of this present Parliament; such Expectants will be deceived: I shall not meddle with a Case which appears so difficult to be decided, that the two Houses of Parliament could not agree about.

And since, as I said before, every Person who takes upon him to speak to, or of the Parliament, ought to have liberty to explain himself; so I have taken that liberty in the Presace to this Book, to which I refer. But this in general I may say, for I am upon generals, and shall keep to them without any relation to particular

Cales.

It cannot be that the People of England, who have so much concern in the good Agreement of their Governors, can see the I wo Houses of Parliament at any time Clash with one another, or with the King, or the King with them; or Encroach upon the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and be Unconcern'd, and not express their Fears.

If any Fellow Subject be Impeach'd, to see the Disputes between the Two Houses about Punctilioes of Form, interrupt the due and ordinary Course of Justice; so that a Criminal cannot be detected, nor an Innocent Man be justified, but such Impeachments shall lie as a Brand upon the Reputation of an Innocent Person, which is a Punishment worse than his Crime deserved, if he were Guilty. These are Injuries to the Subject in general, and they cannot be easie to see them.

We have a great Cry against an evil Ministry, the noise of which is so great, as it drowns the Complaints of the People; but I dare say none of the People of England would be against having due Resentments shown, and legal Punishments inflicted with impartial Instice, where the Persons appear Guilty: But if Enquiry after

M 2

Dif

Disorders at Home should delay taking care of our safe, ty Abroad; if private Clashings and Disputes between Parties and Interests should take up the Hours which are due to the Emergency of Foreign Assairs, the People of England will be very ill serv'd; and the Person concern'd, whoever they are, will be able to give but a sorry account to the Country that employ'd them of the Trust they had committed to them: Not that Delinquents should not be punish'd, or evil Ministers Impeach'd, but, as our Saviour says in another Case, These things ye ought to have done, and not have left the other undone.

What shall we then say to the manner of fixing Guilt upon a Person, or a Party, by Vote. That the Lords denying a free Conference, was a delay of Justice, and tended to destroy the good Correspondence, &c. * and refusing to proceed to the Trial of one Impeach'd Lord, because another Lord, not Impeach'd, had affronted the

House.

Truly I shall venture to say nothing of it but this. That the Clashings and Disagreement between the two Houses are things our Enemies rejoice at, and the People of England are very sorry for. Who are in the right of it Sir Humphry Mackworth must answer for me, who says, It is not to be imagin'd, that a Majority of so numerous a Body of Gentlemen can be influenc'd against Reason and suffice. But at the same time of supposes the Lords may by receiving Articles of Impeachment to Day, and appointing to Try them Forty Years hence, or else to morrow Morning at Truro in Connwall.

If he means that it is not probable, I readily allow if, but if he means that 'tis not possible, I cannot agree, for the Reasons and Examples aforesaid. And if it be but possible, 'tis not reasonable the Liberty and Safety of Empossible, 'tis not reasonable the Liberty and Safety of Empossible, 'tis not reasonable the Liberty and Safety of Empossible, 'tis not reasonable the Liberty and Safety of Empossible, 'tis not reasonable the Liberty and Safety of Empossible, 'tis not reasonable, '

th

N

tez

ect

fich

+ Sir Humphrey's Defence of the Rights of the Commons of England

him, till they, Commons, had Justice done them, for Words Spoken by the Lord Have them.

land should be exposed even to a possibility of Disaster; and therefore Reason and Justice allows, that when all delegated Powers fail or expire, when Governors devour the People they should protect; and when Parliaments, If ever that unhappy time shall come again, should be either destroy d, or, which is as bad, be corrupted, and betray the People they Represent, the People themselves, who are the Original of all delegated Power; have an undoubted Right to desend their Lives, Liberties, Properties, Religion and Laws, against all manner of Invasion or Treachery, be it Foreign or Domestick; the Constitution is dissolved, and the Laws of Nature and Reason act of Course, according to the following System of Government.

The Government's ungirt when fustice dies,
And Constitutions are non Entities:
The Nation's all a Mob; there's no such thing
As Lords and Commons, Parliament or King.
A great promiscuous Croud the Hydra lies,
Till Laws revive, and mutual Contract ties.
A Chaos free to chuse for their own share,
What Case of Government they please to wear.
If to a King they do the Reins commit,
All Men are bound in Conscience to submit.
But then that King must, by his Oath, assent
To Postulata's of the Government:
Which if he breaks, he cuts off the Intail,
And Power retreats to its Original.

It may be objected; but who are these People to whom Power must thus Retreat? And who have the Original Right in their Hands? It must be the whole People. If there be one Negative, every one having an equal Right, the real Claim of Power is Impersect: And since there can be no general Collective Meeting of the whole Community, there can be no Execution of their Power; and therefore this does not justific a sew of that Body in the name of the rest, to Execute any part of that Power.

M 3.

This

This may be answered; though upon a Dissolution of Government all the People collectively cannot be enquired of as to what they will have done, yet one Negative ought not to interrupt the whole.

I'll suppose a general Dissolution of Government in any Country, such as was seen in this Nation at the last

Revolution.

The People assembled in a Universal Mob to take the Right of Government upon themselves, are not to be supposed to give their personal Suffrages to every Article, but they may agree to a Convention of such Persons as they think sit to Intrust, to Consistute de Nova and may Delegate their Power, or part of it, to such a Convention; and in such Case a general Concurrence is to be supposed, unless there be a publick Dissent.

Now suppose the general Collective Body of the People should not unanimously agree, it is own'd the Power could not be universally Delegated, and there a Division would follow; but in such Case, those who Dissented from such an Agreement, must declare their Dissent, and gree to any other Form of Government for themselvs, and so divide from he other Body, and if they do not divide, they, in essential control of the People should be universally agree.

But then this Division must be before any Members

are Delegated by them to Convene.

For Example:

Suppose the Free-holders in Cornwall, in such a Case, should say, We do not app ove of your deputing Men to meet and consult of a new Government and Constitution, we are resolved to be govern'd by such a Man of our own Country.

This Resolution being against no Law, and that Country having sent no Members to represent them, and so join with the rest of the Body, they cannot be legally disturbed or punished, or torced to Unite with the rest

Dark of that Power

distilled in the name of the tell, to P

12 14

of the Nation.

Such

Such a Division might be look'd upon as a Misfortune to the general Body, and unkind in the Country, or part dividing from the rest, but in the nature of the thing it could not be Unjust.

Because any Body of Men are at Liberty, upon the Dissolution of former Contracts, to be governed by such Laws and Persons, and in such manner as they shall

think fit.

0,

1

ä

V-

i-

f- '

or if

13

fe,

en Ai-

of

in-

10

illy

rest

uch

Yet is there no fear of such a Division in a Country so depending on its several Parts as this is, because the rest would render them so uneasie, that Interest would

compel them to comply.

Note, I do not place this Right upon the Inhabitants, but upon the Pree-bolders; the Free-bolders are the proper Owners of the Country: It is their own, and the other Inhabitants are but Sojourners, like Lodgers in a House, and ought to be subject to such Laws as the Free-holders impose upon them, or else they must remove; because the Free-holders having a Right to the Land, the other have no right to live there but upon sufferance.

In former Days the Free-hold gave a Right of Government to the Free-holder, and Vassalage and Villinage was deriv'd from this Right, that every Man who will live in my Land shall be my Servant, if he wont, let him go about his Business, and live some where else:

And tis the fame still in right reasoning,

And I make no question but Property of Land is the best Title to Government in the World; and if the King was universal Landlord, he ought to be universal Governor of Right, and the People so living on his Lands

ought to obey him, or go off of his Premifes.

And if any single Man in England should, at any time, come to be Landlord of the whole Free held of England, he could indeed have no Right to Dispositis the King, ill the present legal Settlement of the Crown fail'd, because it was settled by those that had then a kight to lettle it.

M 4

But

But he would immediately be the full Representative of all the Counties in England, and might Elect himself Knight of the Shire for every Country, and the Sheriff of every Country must return him accordingly.

He would have all the Baronies and Titles of Honour which are entail'd upon Estates devolv'd upon him, and upon any Expiration of the Settlement would be King

by natural Right.

And he would be King upon larger Terms, than ever any Man was legally King of England; for he would be

King by inherent Right of Property, whom bloom

When therefore I am speaking of the Right of the People, I would be understood of the Free-holders, for all the other Inhabitants live upon Sufferance, and either are the Free hold reservants, or having Moneyto pay Rent live upon Conditions, and have no Title to their living in England, other than as Servants, but what they must pay for.

Upon this foot it is that, to this Day, our Law suffer not a Foreigner to Purchase any of the Free holds of England: For if a Foreigner might Purchase, your Neighbours (having Money to spare) might come and buy you out of your own Country, and take Possession

by a legal and indisputable Right.

This Original Right was the first Foundation of the several Tenures of Land in England; some held of the King, some of the Lord, some by Knight Service, socage, and the like, and some were called Free-holds. The Lords of Mannors had their Homages, and their Services from their Tenants, as an Acknowledgment that the Right of the Land gave a certain Right of Government to the Possessor over all the Tenants and Inhabitants.

But he that posses'd the least Freehold, was as much Lord of himself, and of that Freehold, as the greatest Noble man in the Nation; he ow'd no Homage of Service, no, not to the King, other than as limited by Laws of his own making, than is as he was represented in Parliament.

And

And as a thing which will put this Argument out all question: The Right to Lands, Mannors and ordships, was not Originally a Right granted by Panis from Kings, or Acts of Parliament, but a natural ight of Possession handed down by Custom, and anciet Usage, as the Inheritance from the still more anciet Possession and Prescription, or Usage time out of ind is, to this Day, allow'd to be a sufficient Title in weral Cases, where Conveyances, Deeds, Charters, ad Writings of Estates are silent, especially as to Butings and Boundings of Land, High-ways, Foot-paths, later-Courses, Bridges, and the like

This Right, as all Right Originally, is Founded upa Reason: For it would be highly Unreasonable, that ble People who have no share of the House should live it whether he that built it will or no. No Person as any Right to live in England, but they to whom ngland belongs; the Free-holders of England have it possession; England is their own, and no Body has

y thing to do here but themselves.

If they permit other People to live here, well and bod, but no Man but a Freeholder lives here upon by Terms but permissu Superiorum, and he pays Rent for

s License to live here. doing a lung and whole

Ve

elf

riff

112

ur

nd

ng

rer

be

he

for

ei.

to

to

ut

ers

of

our

nd

00

the

OC-

lds.

eir

ent Go-

ha-

ich

ieft

or by

ted

nd

Thus the Liberties and Privileges of Towns and Corprations, are founded upon Acts of Parliament to conm Charters or Grants from the Crown, by which the
techolders give their Consent that such and such Boes of Men living in such Towns, shall enjoy certain
tivileges in Consideration of their being so consideray serviceable to the Nation, by paying Taxes, mainining the Poor, by Manufactures, Trade, and the
te, notwithstanding they are not possess d of any part
the Freehold.

And tis observable, the King cannot give this Privige, so as to enable any of these Corporations to send epresentatives to Parliament. None, but the Freeholers of England (and such Towns in Conjunction) to hom the Freeholders have already granted such Privilege, can give a Qualification of fuch a Nature, as in receiving them into an equal state of Privilege with Freeholder.

Every Man's Land is his own Property; and 'tis Trespass in the Law for another Man to come upon his Ground without his Consent. If the Freeholders should all agree, That such a Man shall not come upon the Land; That they will not Let him a House for his Money; That whose Land soever he sets his Foot on the Owner shall Indict him for a Trespass, as by Lawh may, the Man must fly the Nation of Course.

Thus the Freeholders having a Right to the Possession of England, the Reason must be good that they must have the same Right to the Government of themselve that they have to the Government of the rest of the Inhabitants; and that there can be no Legal Power in England, but what has its Original in the Possessor; for Proper

is the Foundation of Power.

I am not undertaking to find fault with our Confintions, tho' I do not grant neither, that it is capable no Amendment; but I would endeavour to make way by retreating to Originals, for every Member to perform its proper Function, in order to put the general

Body into its regular Motion.

For as in the natural Body, if any Member, either by Contraction of the Organ, Diflocation, or other Accident, fails in the performance of its proper Dung the Locomotive Faculty is either interrupted, and Body difforted, or at least the regularity of Natural Motion is invaded: So in the Body Politick, if one Brand of the general Union err, and that Error is not confected, the whole Constitution suffers a shock, and the is an Infraction of the general Order.

The Excellency of our Constitution consists of the Symetry of Parts; and the Ballance of Power; and if the Ballance be broken, one Part grows too great for the

other, and the whole is put into Confusion.

To give some Instances of this, 'twill be needful enter a little into History, and we need not gorfar information in the state of the s

(161)

rm our felves, that there has been a Time when the kness of our Constitution has appeared.

our Constitution, when all the fine Things in the ld have been faid of it, is not impregnable, when er has been thrown wholly into one Scale, the r has always been trampled under Foot, and over-

wn by it.

25 B

With

'tis

on h

Thou

n the

for h

ot or

Lawb

offeffio

y mu

mfelve

of th

in Eng

Propen

onlin

pabled

ce war

to po genen

, eitha

ir other

r Dun andth

ral Mo Brand

E COM

dither

of the

if the

for the

he Regal Power under King Charles the First, overinc'd the Lords and Commons, to the invading the ht of Levying Taxes, vested wholly in the Parliament, to the discontinuing Parliaments for fourteen Years, the many Convultions the Constitution felt in that , is too melancholy a Subject to reflect upon.

he House of Commons in the next Settlement overmcd the Lords, and Power being added to one Side, d the Upper House quite out of the Scale, absolutennihilated the very being of the Peers as a Honse,

voted them out of the Constitution.

y the Restoration the Constitution return'd to its ginal, and the Ballance was pois'd again: What atpis have fince been made to overthrow it, are needo be infifted upon, but the nature of the thing leads o make one Remark, That if the King can do no ing nor is not punishable, or blamable, by our Contion, but the Ministry, as a late Author has very ly let down, then we have acted strangely in the Revolution; in which the King who mult be Innoonly suffered; and the Ministry, who must be Guilty, only were excused, but intrusted and employed. of that I am of some Peoples Opinion neither, who k the late King had hard measure in being Depos'd, o he was really not accountable. For I prefume I affirm, That the Depoling King James was foundpon his Deferting the Nation, nor his Male admiation; for had he continued in England you might bly have subdy'd him, and took him Prisoner, but

e had been no room for transposing the Crown

lehe had been alive. anob avaid or

dful orfari intot

And

ui

b

V

to

h

ay

ie

W

i

ti

af

m

E

y c

pl

is

re

[1]

ir

mf

ru

inf

Ar

ely

W

ves

f92

de

be. The

pre

fen th:

And 'tis allow'd by all, that those Persons, who as sed him to quit the Kingdom by flying out of it, en wilfully betray'd him, or very ignorantly gave him only Council which could compleat his Ruin.

How then it comes to pals that those evil Ministrate arriv'd to Impunity for what was past, and aga to be trusted both in the Court, and in the Parliams with the Peoples Liberties, is a Mystery past our reach

If I had no Name my felf, I would let down their or if I had a Press in the Clouds to Print their Practice the World should not be Ignorant; but since tis not I shall only say as our Saviour said of some Body of

By their Works ye shall know them.

These are the Men who cry loudest against the p fent Ministry, and, on all occasions, make use of the tence of Liberty to animate the Nation against not of the present, but against every Ministry by which publick Affairs shall be manag'd, and against the Ki himself. The same Men who, in former Days, cried 2 Popish Army in a profound Peace, the very h now cried down a Protestant Army in time of Dans The very same Men who could digest the about Power of ruining our Liberty and Religion, be vested in a Popish King, were the first and forward that durft not trust a Protestant King, with For enough to defend us till Peace was better Effablish'd have by that means, according to their Hearts de laid us, and all Europe, under a necessity of Arming gain to maintain that Peace, which 'twas then in power to have maintain'd.

For, I am free to fay, twas not the Treaty of Parting which for much run the Spaniards upon giving the felves up to the French, as it was the despicable Figure 1. The English Forces were reduced to, which made is French King bold to take possession of the Spanish is narchy, which had some, I do not say all our for been continued but a Year or two longer, he would be the same of two longers are well as the same of two longers are well as the same of two longers.

not have ventur'd to have done.

(163)

and yet all these Forces might have been subjected absolutely to Parliamentary Power, as if they had n their own? for the King never denied them any urity they desir'd, and so they might have been

banded as eafily now as then.

Nor do I think that in this Discourse I can be suppoto savour that Party, if there be such a Party, which, ed, I question, who would Govern this Nation by help of a standing Army; but I must be allowed ay down this for a Maxim, That any Force as shall agreed to by consent of Parliament is Legal, and he force may, at some particular times, be necessary, which the Parliament are the only Judges.

the House of Commonsare the Abridgment; they the Freeholders of England in Miniature; to them all dful Powers and Privileges are committed, to make meapable of Acting, for the People they Represent; Extremities excepted, they are our last Resort: But if y employ those Privileges and Powers against the ple, the reason of those Powers is destroy'd, the is inverted, and the Power ceases of Course.

romhence tis reasonable to give them Instructions; though they are not conditionally chosen as to insurations, yet they ought in Honour to think mselves under equal Obligation to stand by those

Instructions to Members are like the Power given to Arbitrator, in which, though he is left fully and by to act, yet it is in Confidence of his Honour that will think himself bound, by the Directions he reves from the Berson for whom he acts.

destroys the end of his Election, and is fure never be entrusted again.

The House of Commons are our Sanctuary against the pression of Princes, the Nations Treasurers, and the senders of their Liberties; but all these Titles signithat at the same time they are the Nation's Servants.

The The sate of the sate Coroner, 16.2

The House of Commons allo are Mortal, as a House King may Dissolve them, they may die, and be extind but the power of the People has a kind of Eten with respect to Politick Duration; Parliaments a cease, but the People remain; for them they were ginally made, by them they are continued and remains from them they receive their Power, and to them reason they ought to be accountable and the state of them.

be down this fon a Maxim, That any Forde as

th

fo

en

ho

bu

TI

1(

d

at t

n

ve

Bu

ier

th

on

m

ght

on

Tha

ess

de

d Pr

ive

b 7

rlia

ir je

The

HE Dissolution of the tast Parliament has been for the Dissolution of the tast Parliament has been south to the Writing these Sheets, and two fervations fall out so naturally on this occasion, the cannot but conclude this Subject with them.

That both his Majesty, and the whole Nation, he very happily given their Approbation to the Polin

they are our

here laid down.

Addresses of the People presented to his Majesty, we the Indignity offered him by the French King hasing neral a Dislike included in them of the Management their late Representatives; and tho it is a new the yet it is plain their Proceedings in general have to

Difobliging to the Nation.

There were no need to express in Words at leg before all His Majesty's Intentions were known, that the desire him to Dissolve the present Parliament. So Manners required, that they should not so plainly his Majesty in what he was to be the Author of sides, the Parliament was in Being, and the illegal his trary Usage of the Kentish Gentlemen fresh in the mory of the People. But what is the meaning of following Expressions in the Address? * If your jesty pleases to entrust us with the Choice of a new parliament; When Your Majesty shall be graciously pleased to a new Parliament; In Conjunction with a Parliament;

Vide. The Addresses in the Gazettes, No.

e fike. What would the Addressors have us, or have King to understand by these Expressions, but that e People sinding themselves Injur'd by the Proceeds of their Representatives, and the Nation in danger being abus'd and betray'd to the Invasions of the meh, by the Illegal and Arbitraiy Designs of a Party the House, have recourse to his Majesty, to dispose them a Power which they saw going to be misaped to the Ruine of those from whom and for whom was appointed.

Nor was this any thing but what was feen and known fore; all these Addresses are the Legitimate Off-spring the Kentish Petition; and had not the Freeholders en aw'd by the ill usage of the Kentish Gentlemen, the nole Nation had then as unanimously Petition'd the

oufe, as they have now Address'd His Majesty.

This is evident from the Tenour, and yet undiscoveloriginal of the Legion Paper; the Contents of which d so much plain Truth of Fact, and Truth of Law, at the House stood Convicted in the plain Consternan the Contents of it threw them in; by which they

ve a full affent to the Right of the People.

But beyond all this, is His Majesty's Proclamation, herein, according to Truth, Reason, and the Nature the Thing, His Majesty has graciously given a Sanon to the natural Right of his People, proclaiming on the English Throne, of which he is the most shiful Possessor, by the Voice of the People, that ever on it.

That when the People of England do univerfally exels their Resolutions, to do what should or ought to

defired of good English Men

d Protestants. * It is reasonable vive them an Opportunity to chuse Proclamation for Distribution for Distri

rliament, as ibey may judge most likely to bring to effect

ir just and pious purposes.

The Words need no Comment, they contain in them orious Recognition from the Restorer of English Liberty

berty, and an unexampled Testimony to the reasonable ness of those just Rights which, though former King blindness by Ambitton, have endeavour'd to suppress, it present Majesty, according to his first Declaration as continued Practice, has accounted it his Chief Honor to preserve, and which we doubt not he will have down unbroken to our Posterity.

forther so of the country will varie

neer the learness when and let whom

Re

no

no

rof

ies

n t

b

re

ke

au

u

hd

om

T

rea

on

V

on

in

sr

ear

B

2

The Free-holders Plea against Stock Jobbing Elections of Parliament Men.

OF all the Nations in the World, we may say, with out detracting from the Character of our Native Country, that England has, for some Ages past, but the most Distracted with Divisions and Parties amonthemselves.

Union and Charity, the one relating to our Civil, to other to Religious Concerns, are Strangers in the Land and whether we speak of difference in Opinions, of differences in Interest, we must own that we are to most Divided, Quarrelsome Nation under the Sun.

Poland is the only Nation of Europe which can putend to match us in this ill-natured Quality, and putend things examin'd, Poland cannot come near us.

'Twas a true Character given of us, by the will Princels that ever Govern'd us, Queen Elizabeth, the the English were harder to be Govern'd in time of Penthan War.

What Experience our present Governors have had this old Maxim in the short Peace we have had, we let to every Man's Observation.

Not to enter into the History of the Divisions, 2 the civil Disturbances in the Nation's Peace, which

of fresh in our Memories; and cannot be review'd without sensible Regret by any Man, who loves his country, or has the least regard to its Prosperity or

Reputation.

Yet we cannot but express our sense of the encrease, and more than ordinary progress of this wrangling temper on the present Assairs of the Publick; and with what satal success it invades us in the most minute, and most tender Parts; with what subtility it spreads its ontagious Qualities into the Vitals of the State; and rom thence descends into the less noble parts, the Trade of the Nation.

keligion and the State have felt the plague of Conention, eating out the very Entrails of the Nation, and vith a fort of alternate Motion, have equally come uner its malignant Effects for almost four entire Centuies of Years, and as if it was not enough to hurt us athose two Essentials of our Peace, behold the Plague broke out in our Trade, which is the third, and next othe other two, the Supreme Articles of the Kingoms Prosperity.

Wherefore we the Yeomandry, and poor Freeholders England, having, God knows, no hand in the Difrences, tho' we have a deep share in the Damages, do ke the freedom to make our just Remarks upon the auses, which, as we apprehend, have conduc'd too uch to the present unhappy Divisions of the Nation; and which, if some care be not taken to prevent it, may

ompleat the Ruin of us all.

The Wisdom of late Parliaments have Establish'd two reat Rivals in Trade, the Old and the New East-India-

ompanies.

We do not pretend to Arraign the Justice of those sonderful and Unintelligible Assemblies, if they were in sing, we dare not, and, since they are not in being, so not very Honourable, you'l say, to speak ill of the lead.

But thus far, we hope, without Offence, we may allow'd to give our Opinions in this particular Af-

fair, that the separately and distinctly, every part of the Proceedings of those Parliaments, might be literal ly and positively just and Right, we mean as to the East

India Companies.

Yet, when they are Conjunctively, and in the general put together and reflected on, they seem to be clouded both as to the publick Interest, and as to the Honour of the Proceedings with dark Enigma's of State, and Inexplicable Paradoxes, too hard for us to understand such as these,

fore the extent of their Charter, and Privileges wereck pir'd, we mean the three Years allow'd them for bringing home their Effects, there should be erected a new

Company, with power of immediate Trade.

Had the New Company not commenc'd their Trade, the time of the Old was expir'd, or near it, there might have been a Succession of Companies, not two Rival Compa

nies in being together.

2. That the manner of Trading by the new Company of thould be so order'd, as that the old Company of Subscribing should enable themselves to Trade separately as a Company still, and that with so Capital a Stock as always to share the Trade with the new Company, and so at the same time two Contraries be upheld of the same Authority.

Had the new Company been so Establish d that at the extration of the old, it shou'd have had a Commanding Superior ty, by which no other Man could have Traded, but under them by Permission, at the same time leaving all Men at liberty to come in and Trade with them, there had been then no Rival in the Trade, which will, no question, as they now standing the same time to the them.

foon reduce the Trade to very low Terms.

3. That after this new Company was Establish'd, and the Money paid in, to the use of the Government which, some say, was the thing which first mov'd the Company tion of a new Company, and which, if the old Company wou'd have procur'd, they had never been Broke, nor the no one Born. That after this new Company was erected

ler Do

A lo it

ie Stock advanc'd, and the Money to the Government ay'd, they shou'd prohibit by Act of Parliament two sirds of their Trade, and so starve the Child they had egotten.

If the Trade was ruinous to the English Manufactures, ad the Interest of the Nation, it shou'd have been foreseen, fore Gentlemen had paid their Money, or else it shou'd not

ve been examin'd afterwards.

ral-

ded

100

and

ind,

be.

ex-

ng.

new

til

ight

npa-

npa-

y by

ately

ock

any;

by

exp rioti

them

rty 1

ival

tand

, and

nent

once

mpan

e 1303

ecta

4. That after all this they shou'd grant a new Charr to the old Company, by Vertue of which they have oth power and time to Trade, to the Prejudice of the ew, even to their Hearts content.

We say nothing of those Particulars, but thus, that ally we do not understand the consistency of them ith themselves, they stand to us as Arcana's of Policy,

to high to be medled with.

Nor shou'd we trouble our Heads about them, but ave both Companies to confound one another, as we elieve they will; but that we find so great a part of the Nation concern'd in their Quarrel, as gives us cause observe, that the Issue of them seems to threaten the

lation with fomething Fatal.

For the Power of these two Rivals is so great, and sterest in the Kingdom so popular and high, that maters of higher Moment than Trade seem to depend upathem, while all the Proceedings of their Members, oth in the City, and in the late Parliament, in both hich their Parties have been numerous, are, and have cen guided, according to their Interest in their respetive Companies.

The grand Work which the whole Nation is now tent upon, is chusing their Representatives in Parliatent, chusing Men to meet, and advise with the King

out the most Important Affairs of the Kingdom.

And while all Men ought to be fixing their Eyes upfuch Men as are best Qualified to sit in that place of lonour, and to examine who are sittest to be intrusted ith the Religion and Peace of England, and perhaps fall Europe.

N 2

Here

Here we are plagu'd with the Impertinence of the East-India Companies, as if the Interest of either Company were to be nam'd in the Day with the Protesta Religion and the publick Peace, or as if they, who are to be Representatives of the People in the great matter of Peace and War, Leagues and Alliances of Neighbours, Succession of Crowns, and Protection of the Protestant Religion, should not be capable of deciding the petty Controversy in Trade between two Rin Companies,

The Grand Question ask'd now, when your Von requir'd for a Parliament Man, is not as it ought to Is he a Man of Sense, of Religion, of Honesty, and I

State.

But, What Company is he for, the New orth

If Mr. A. M. fet up as a Candidate in a Neighowing Borough, Who fet him up? 'Tis known he is a Inhabitant there, nor ever was, has no Free-hold, a Copy-hold, or Leafe-hold Estate there, nor is not know there, and of himself possibly was not acquainted who twenty People there.

But enqui e what Company he is for; and then it if all the rest of that Company were not found ming over the Water to make their Interest with the

'n

12

oi ri

is re

B

or

ay

ov T

ni

lip

Friends for this Election.

And the Time would fail us, and the Paper too, a give you a List of the Shop-keepers, Merchants, Pedlan and Stock Jobbers, who; with their Hir'd Liveries, and Six Horses, who, God knows, never he Coaches and Six Horses, who, God knows, never he Coach or Livery of their own, are come down in the Countries, being detach'd from London, by eithe Company to get themselves chosen Parliament Ma by those Boroughs, who are easie to be Impos'd upon and who like well meaning Men, that know nothing of the matter, chuse them upon the Recommendation of the Country Gentlemen that have Interest in the Towns, which Country Gentleman are prevail'd upon to quit their own Pretentions to advance theirs; but

what Arguments we cannot pretend to Deter-

We have formerly been told, that spending Money on the Inhabitants of Towns was a pernicious Praice; and no doubt it was, and an Act of Parliament

s been wisely made to prevent it.

What any Man cou'd propose to himself by spendg 2000 (nay, 11000 pound was spent at the Town Winchelsea) to be chosen to sit in a House where ere is not one Farthing to be gotten honestly, was a

ystery every one did not understand.

But here is a new way of getting Money: For if a ountry Gentleman has fo much Interest in a Town, at he can be chosen a Member of Parliament, if he ill decline it, here is a fort of Folks they call Stockobbers, will help him to 1000 G-s for his Inrest.

This is Parliament-fobbing, a new Trade, which as e thought it the Duty of English Free-holders thus to pose, we hope an English Parliament, will think it their

uty to prevent.

tei bi

, no near that into the

10

104

For as this Stock-Jobbing in its own Nature, is only new invented fort of Deceptio Visus, a Legerdemain in. rade, fo mix'd with Trick and Cheat, that 'twou'd izzle a good Logician to make it out by Syllogism: So othing can be more Fatal in England to our present onstitution; and which in time may be fo to our Lirty and Religion, than to have the Interests of Electiis Jobb'd upon Exchange for Money, and Transfer'd, e East-India Stock, for those who bid most-

By this Method the Country-Gentlemen may fit at ome, and only Corresponding with the Brokers at mathan's and Garraway's, as the Prizes Rife or Fall, ay dispose of their Interests in the Towns they can

overn, at as good a rate as they can.

The Citizens, or fuch who have their feveral Comnies and Interest to serve, will ease themselves of e expence of Travelling, with the fine bor ow'd Elipages before mention'd, and only go to Mark t in

N 3

Exchange-

Exchange-Alley, and Buy an Election, as the Stok-Jober, and they shall agree, which Election shall be manag'd by the Country Gentleman, who is to have his Bargain, no Purchase no Pay, and is to go thro' with it, or else he gets none of the Money.

Elections of Parliament Men are in a hopeful way and Parliaments themselves are in a hopeful way this concise Method of Practice, to come under the absolute management of a few Hands, and no down

things will go on accordingly.

Banks and Stocks may be lay'd up, and employ'd in a short time, for the purchasing the Interest of Gentle men, and our Gentry being willing to get a Penny in an Honest way, as we say, will but too often sell the Interests, and their Country too, especially such Gentlemen, whose Estates are reduc'd to an occasion in it.

The truth of it is, 'tis a Paradox, a Riddle, that w Countrymen cannot understand, nor never cou'd, what makes our Gentlemen fo fond of being Parliament-ma we do not very well understand what the Business is the Parliament. Only we find we are swingingly Taxle and they tell us 'tis done by the Parliament; but we never understood they had any of the Money them felves, we always thought the Money was for the King tho' they had the Giving of it; then we fee in the King's Proclamation for Calling a Parliament, that it Wa to Advise with them, about Affairs of the highest in portance to the Kingdom. Now we cannot fee the can get any thing by coming together to be Advis'd with and our Knights of the Shire tell us they get nothing by it. And here lies the Difficulty, we can never to concile their fpending fo much Money to be Chole going up 200 Miles to London, and spending fix Month fometimes there in attending the House, and all for m thing; we have often been thinking there must be fomething else in the Case, and we are afraid there is

Nor did ever any thing explain this Riddle so much as the strugling of these two Companies to make Mem rs of Parliament; for the meaning to us feems

That they suppose which Company soever gets most iends in the House, will be most likely to be farther tablish'd to the Ruin of the other, and therefore they

ake fuch a stir to get Friends there. 4000 also

Whence first it must be suppos'd, that the Marter all not stand or fall by true Merit, and that Compamay be supprest that deserves it; for if so, it might probable they wou'd both be suppres'd; for we appreend they are both destructive to our English Trade in eneral, and Manufactures in particular.

But 2. It must be suppos'd, that Friendship and num-

er of Voices, only will decide the Controverfy.

And in order to this the Stock Foblers, who care not Farthing which fide gets the better, but make a Prey f them both, have fet up this new Trade of Jobbing r Elections: And that the way of their proceeding ay be a little plainer understood, we defire you to ad the Copy of a Letter come down last Post, to a orthy Gentleman in our Country, from a Friend of splying in, or near Exchange-Ally, concerning this latter. of your doing but,

SIR,

ve hi

Wil

War

y by

r the

loub

'di

ntle

y in their

Gen

for

vha nea

is a

24

सं ते विश्व

THe Elections for a new Parliament being begun almost every where, I doubt not but the Time is fixt at your own of ____ I know you have the Absolute Power of the babitants there, and can put in whom you please; and nding by your last you purpose to decline it your self, I am inform you, that a very bonest Gentleman, of my Acuaintance, being an Eminent Merchant bere, wou'd think inself very much Oblig'd, if you wou'd use your Inteft in his behalf, upon your Grant whereof I have an Orer to Present you with a Thousand Guineas to Buy my ady___

outre to the Nation, on the

OFFICE BOY STOCKED

He is ready to come down at your first Summons, in every good Equipage; Pray Dispatch your Mind per the Bearer, to

Your Humble Servant.

To the Honourable Sir A, B, C, D, Bar.

Postfcript.

IF Sir E, F, G, H, will dispose of his Interest in the Town of I can help him to very good Terms.

Now, tho' the worthy Gentleman to whom this Proposal was made, rejected it with Disdain, yet the Attempt is made very plain in the case.

And, we are inform'd, that the Number of Members come down into the Countries on such accounts, at

incredible.

Wherefore we think it very needful to publish our Resentments at such a Practice, and to protest against in this our Honest Plea, as an indirect, wicked and pernicious practice, and which may be of very ill confequence to the Nation, on these following Accounts.

r. A Hundred, or an Hundred and fifty such Members in the House, would make a Dead Weight, as it us'd to be call'd, to carry any Vote they are For, or Against, either in the Negative or Affirmative, as they shall agree, and if so, it will be almost in their power to dispose of our Estates, Persons, Liberties and Religion,

as they think fit.

2. If it be true, as is very rational to suppose, that they who will Buy, will Sell; or if it be true, which seems still more rational, that they who have Bought, must Sell; must make a Penny of it, or else they lose their Purchase, and some their Fortunes, which they expected to raise by these mercenary Elections; then the Influence of such a Number of Members, gotten into the House by the method we are speaking of, will be capable of selections.

g our Trade, our Religion, our Peace, our Effects, r King, our Crown, and every thing that is Valua-

, or dear to the Nation.

If Stock-fobbing of Elections be the first step, in all probility Stock- fobbing of Votes will be the second; for that will give a Thousand pounds or more, only for power to Vote, expects to get fomething by Voting, gives away his Money for nothing.

What shall we say then, if a League of Confederacy bu'd be made between our Parliament-Sollicitors, and r Stock-Jobbing-Brokers, two fort of People equally

ercenary and deceitful.

וערו

ro-

At-

ers

are

OUT fit

er-

nle.

·m· s It

Ahey

1 10

on;

hat

ms ell;

ale

aile

ot

by

fel-

ng

We defire to know, whether 'twould not be more al to England than the Union of France and Spain, hich all Europe seems to be so much disturb'dat.

In vain do we the Free-holders of England strive to use Men of all the Six Characters, mention'd by a late uthor, in order to have a Parliament every way Quaed for the Important Affair, his Majesty has men-

on'd in his Proclamation.

In vain shall those Gentlemen we chuse Sit and Vote the House, if such a Generation as we hear of are t into the House, by the help of their Money at the broughs and Towns, for the Citizens and Burgesses ut-run the Knights in number above Three for One.

We think 'tis no small misfortune to the English Contution, that so great a Number of Members are chon by the Corporations of England, and, according to ir weak Opinions, it feems not equal, That all the ree-holders of a Country should be represented only two Men, and the Towns in the same County be rereferred by above Forty, as it is in Cormvall, and near e like in other Countries.

Again, in some of these Corporations, where the ght of Voting is in the Mayor and Jurats; in some le Mayor, Aldermen and Common Councel; in olers the Mayor, Aldermen, and Capital Burgeffes; in thers the Bayliff and Jurats, and the like, the right of oting is reduc'd to so few, and those so Mean and Mercenary,

Mercenary, that they are easily prevail'd with to chuse such as they know not, but are recommended by others.

And, which is worse, some Towns whose Charten remain, tho' the Towns themselves seem to be Dead are so mean and contemptible, that nothing remains of them, but a despicable Village, with the Ruins of what

they have been.

We think it would be but reasonable, that the Charters and Privileges of Towns, should die with the Towns; and that whereas when they were Populous and Rich, they were Represented in Parliament, be cause they were so; when they are Depopulated and Desolate, there can be no need of any Person to represent them, what can the Members, who have serv'd for the Town of Winchelsea answer, if they were asked who they Represent, they must answer, they Represent the Ruins and Vaults, the remains of a good old Town now lying in Heaps; as for the Inhabitants, they are not to be Nam'd among the List of the most despicable Endships or Village in the County.

Branber in Sussex, Old Sarum, Stockbridge, Gatton, Quinborro, and multitudes of Towns the like, who send up Gentlemen to represent Beggars, and have had more Money spent at some of their Elections, than all the Land in the Parishes wou'd be worth, if Sold at a Hung

dred Years Purchase.

While, on the other Hand, a great many good Town in England, being of more modern Rise in the World, are not permitted to chuse at all, and the City of Low don it self, tho', some say, it bears a proportion to supparts of the Kingdom, sends but Four Members of it self, and but Eight in the whole Circumserence.

This Inequality, we humbly conceive, opens the Door to the fraudulent practices, which have all along been made use of in Elections, Buying of Voices, giving Freedoms in Corporations to People Living out of Corporations, on purpose to make Votes, debauching the Electors, making whole Towns Drunk,

d Feasting them to Excess for a Month, sometimes

o or more, in order to engage their Voices.

7 0.

ten

ead

s of

hat

nar.

the

low

be-

and

pre-for

k'd

ent

WI,

are

able

ton.

end

ore

the

un-

WDS

rld,

011-

Six

fit

the

ong

ces

ing

de-

ink,

and

These things were so Notorious, and withal so Ruious to the Gentry themselves, of whom several Men plentiful Estates have been miserably Beggar'd, and ndone, that the Parliament wifely took notice of it. d have prohibited the practice.

But as the Devil ow'd the Nation a Grudge, and as rummaging his Invention to pay it; here is a new oject found out, to succeed the other, which is Ten

old more the Child of Hell than that.

Elections were obtain'd by those Clandestine Vicious ays, only to fit in the House in General; but here e design seems to be form'd before-hand, what they ou'd be chosen for, and the measures concerted, nay, e have heard that it may be known already, and Waers have been lay'd in, or near Exchange Alley, which ompany has most Friends in the ensuing Parliament. dhow many of the Members of each Company stand irest to be chosen.

Those Gentlemen who have Intelligence, fuitable to ich nice Calculations, are equally capable of Jobbing e whole Nation; and as is already noted, having gotin the way of Buying and Selling, that is, Jobbing Ections, will foon influence fuch Persons to Act, as the

lony they are able to bid shall direct.

Twould be but a melancholly Thought, to reflect hat the matter of our Succession, shou'd come to be deated before a Parliament, that had a Governing numer of Such Members, who cou'd imagine but that the ttlement of our Crown wou'd attend the highest bider, and our future Liberty, Religion, and all that's ear to us, be Mortgag'd to the Bribes of Foreigners.

The French King need not keep great Armies on Foot, wild Ships, and strengthen himself at Seato Ruin us, if he great Affairs of the Kingdom concerted in Parliatent shou'd come to be prepar'd, manag'd, and byass'd t Garraway's and Jonathan's Coffee-house, and expos'd

O Sale by a parcel of Stock-Jobbers

And how shall it be otherwise, they that can make Members, will always Govern Members; Creation supposes a Right of disposing, the Gentlemen who Buy are Oblig'd to stand in good Terms with the Broker, lead they shou'd find a better Chapman, and leave him in the lurch the next Election; so that by the Nature of the thing, they are always subject to this Mercenary, Scandalous thing, call'd a Broker, and he keeps them under his Girdle, if he bids them Vote for, or against, they do it, the mischies are endless and innumerable that may attend it.

To all Men, whose Eyes are to be open'd with Reason and Argument, it shou'd be enough to fill them with abhorence, to think that the Scandalous Mechanick Upstart Mistery of Job-broking should thus grow upon the Nation; that ever the English Nation shou'd suffer'emselve to be Impos'd upon by the New invented ways of a few Needy Mercenarics, who can turn all Trade into a Lottery, and make the Exchange a Gaming Table: A thing which like the Imaginary Coins of Foreign Nations have no reality in themselves; but are plac'd as thing which stand to be Calculated, and Reduc'd into Value, a Trade made up of Sharp and Trick, and manag'd with

Impudence and Banter.

That Six or Eight Men shall combine together, and by pretended Buying or Selling among themselves, raised sink the Sock of the East India Company, to what extravagant pitch of Price they will, so to wheedle other sometimes to Buy, sometimes to Sell, as their occasion require; and with so little regard to Intrinsick Value, at the circumstances of the Company, that when the Company has a loss, Stock shall Rise; when a great Sale, of a Rich Ship arriv'd, it shall Fall: Sometimes run the Stock down to 85 l. other times up to a 150 l. and by this Method Buy and Sell so much, that 'tis thought there are sew of the Noted Stock-jobbers, but what have bought and sold more Stock than both the Companies possess.

lake

Cup.

are

lead

the

can-

nder

her

that

lon

Nith

Up.

the

lve

few

Lot-

ons

ingi

lue

vith

d by e or

tra-

hers

ions

2,00

om·

, 01

the by

ight

vhat

om-

hus

Thus let them Jobb, Trick, and Cheat one another; nd let them be bubbl'd by them that know no better; ut for God's fake, Gentlemen, do not let the Imporant Affairs of the State come under their wicked cluthes.

Don't let them prepare our Acts of Parliament, and hen chuse Members to Vote for them. If Fate and Popish Confederacies, and Union of Popish Powers abroad to threaten us: Let us alone to struggle with them, and have Fair Law, and Honourable Conditions for it; but to be Bought and Sold, to have our Elections of Memers, and our Laws, Liberties and Estates Stock-jobb'd way, is intolerable.

Some, and not a few, of our Stock-jobbing Brokers re French Men, a little Correspondence between the French-Court, and Jonathan's Coffee house, with a Currenty of Louis D'ors, will make strange alterations here, if his method of Buying and Jobbing Elections should go

The Parliament of England, is the Governing Counil; their Breath is our Law, and on their Breath under he Direction of God's Providence, we all depend, the reatest Nicety that is possible should be us'd in chuing Men of untainted Principles, and unquestion'd Visdom, to compass a Body so Emin nt in their Power and Instuence.

But to attempt to fill the House with Mechanicks, 'radef-men, Stock-jobbers, and Men neither of Sense or Honesty, is striking at the Root, and undermining he Nation's Felicity at once, and 'tis a wonder the mpudence of this attempt has not made them Stink in he Nostrils of the whole Nation.

How can the King be encourag'd to place that condence in his People, which he mentions in the late reclamation, by which People, his Majesty understands, he true Representative Body Assembled in Parliament, instead of a true Representative, the House is fill'd with Elections Clandestinly procur'd by Tricks and hams impos'd upon the People.

How

How can the King depend upon this Parliament, to carry him thro' any thing he shall undertake by their advice, if mercenary Men fill the House, whose Suffrage shall be guided by the Bribes and private procurations of his, and the Nation's Enemies?

How shall the Protestant Religion be Espous'd, and Defended, which wise Men say is in great Danger?

How shall Trade be Encourag'd, and Protected, and

the Nicities of it Disputed and Defended?

How shall Reformation of Manners, which is so much wanted, and which the King has so often Recom-

mended, be promoted?

Are Stock-jobbers, Agents of Regiments, Taylors, and East-India Companies, Qualified for these Works; or will any fort of Men, who Purchase Elections with Money, to bring to pass private Interests and Parties, Espouse these General Cases on which the Welfared

the Nation depends.

Tell a Stock-jobber of the Union of France and Spains of the Muscowites breaking the Peace; of the Difference between the Danes, and the Duke of Holstein. Tell him of a good Barrier in Flanders against the French, or of Assisting the Emperor on the Rhine, (talk Gospel to a Rutle Drum) 'tis all Excentrick and Foreign to him: But falk of the Great Mogul, and the Pirates of Madagascom; of Fort St. George, and St. Helena, there you'l hit him and he turns States-man presently.

It was a famous Stock-jobber; and one who is very likely to be a Parliament-Man, who, when some body was talking lately of the Election of the New Pops; and having heard the particulars very attentively, brought out this very grave Question at the end on Well! says he, I am glad tis over, and don't you think that

Stock will rife upon't.

A Learned Question upon the Case, truly; upon which, pray give us leave to ask another;

And is't not pity,
But such a one should Represent the City?

You Londoners may make them Sheriffs, Aldermen, eputies, and Common-Councel Men, and welcome; ou know them, and they can hurt no body but emselves.

But when you come to talk of Parliament Men, Genemen, pray, consider, 'tis the whole Nation lies at ake, a Man may set his own house on Fire, and welome, provided it stands by its self, and neither hurts or endangers no bodies else, and the Law has nothing say to him; but if it stands in a Town, or a City, edeserves to be hang'd, for he may burn out, and un-

his Neighbours.

ind

ind

m-

210

KS;

rith

105

ed

ain

nce

nim

of

Ket-

But

car;

nim,

very

ody

ope;

vely,

on't

that

POR

YOU

Nor are you chusing Men to sit in Parliment, as Perns to Act for you only whom they Represent; but ey are Representatives in a double capacity, separately onsider'd, every Member Represents the People who tuse him, and all together Represent the whole Nation. heir right to sit is separately Dovolved; but their ght in Act, is conjunctively Inherent, every Man Refents the whole, and Acts for the whole, tho' he is not but from part.

The Fate of Bristol, or New Castle, may be decided a Member of London or Canterbury, whose Vote on an

quality of Voices carries it which way he pleafes.

Therefore London cannot fay to Bristol, or New-Cstle, hat have you to do with our Election? Or, they to ordon, What have you to do with ours? Why, one bad lember may ruin a City, a Town, or Family, a Person, perhaps altogether; and if any Town, or City, or brough, or private Person, is pleas'd to give a Friend-Admonition, or Caution, to another, especially if they seem to be proceeding against their own, or the ation's Interest, they ought to accept the Hint, and seed upon what they are doing with Honesty, and form it.

Upon this, we hope it shall be justified, that we have entur'd to lay open the Villanous practices of some Peole to corrupt and procure Elections, in order to get lembers into the ensuing Parliament, who shall serve a

Turn .

Turn, and a Party, without confidering whether the are Men qualified for the other great Affairs, which are be confidered there, and which his Majesty has affur are of the highest Importance to the Kingdom.

The Conclusion.

Fter all that has been faid, it must be allow'd, the whoever forwards, or foments the publicks visions of the Nation, put their Hand to the Nation Ruin.

Divisions have a natural tendency to Distractions, where it be Jacobite against Williamite, Whig against In Dissenter against the Church, or Church against Dissenter New Company against the Old, Stock against Stock, whatever else it is divides us; so far as any of these visions extend to meddle with the Publick, so far the lessenthe Nation's Interest, weaken the Hands of these vernment, Encourage the Enemies of our Prospent and endanger the Nation's Peace.

Tis therefore humbly Recommended to every human English-Man, to study Peace, and pursue it by all them per Methods possible, that we may not open a Gapt our Ruin, with our own Hands: Which, if we do not we may be better able to slight the Confederate For

of Enemies abroad.

Nothing can preserve us at home, nor enable us to fift and Defend the Protestant Religion abroad, nothing can render us formidable to our Neighbours, makes Arms terrible, and our Alliance be coveted in Emand maintain the Reputation of our Nation; but I

on among our Selves.

But above all, let us be careful that we are not bout and fold, Stock-jobb'd into Ruin; that our Libertiess Armies, and Fleets, and Parliaments, and Nation, not Lump'd into Bargains; and handed about at Coffee-houses and Exchange, from whence they be Jobb'd to who bids most, and a Price be set upon

it

which we shall make Peace, or War, at the pleasure our Enemics.

As there is more meant by this than is express'd, so here is more Mischief hid under the Practice than I can

escribe.

It becomes us therefore to crush the Erat in its Birth, and render all the hopes of our Enemies abortive, by a strengt of all such People, who, by any Methods scandalous, attempt to get into the Directing part of the Government.

For this seems to be a plain Consequence, That he who akes use of any Clandestine Methods to get into the House Commons, must have some Clandestine Design to carry on

hen he is there.

e D

perit

t bon

e pr

lo m Fore

s tol

akeo

Em ut U

boug

ties2

on,

it att

upon

Reasons against a War with France, or an Argument shewing that the French King's Owning the Prince of Wales as King of England, Scotland and Ireland; is no Sufficient Ground of a War.

I know of, so entirely govern'd by their Humour the English. There's no more to do to make way any General undertaking, than by some wonderful trize to Rouse the Fancy of the People, and away go with it, like Hounds on a full Cry, till they overn it, and then they are at a Halt, and will run back ain as fast they came on:

What good qualities we have to Ballance this foolish e, I leave to those that think it worth their while to

the Panegyricks, which is none of my Business,

If

If I would go a little back for Examples, to prome what I say, I might fill this little Treatise with the History of our Hair-brain'd Undertakings, but every man's Experience is a witness; and if they are not just a nough to own it, we may be sufficiently Convinc'd of it in the Case now before us.

The hast this Nation is in for a War, the Universal cry of the People during the last Session of Parliament, the ill will the Parliament has incurr'd with the generality, for not making so much hast as was thought requisite, are living proofs of what I have now laid down, and the present Clutter all over the Nation, in Addressing the King about the French King's Breach of Faith, and Publick Sworn Treaty, as they call it, is another Testimony of it.

It is not the Design of this Paper to Vindicate the honour of the French King, whose Punctual observing of Treaties, is not reckon'd among the best of his Royal Vertue. But I cannot agree with those People who say in their Addresses, that his owning the Prince of Wales, as the call'd him, to be the Successor of the late K. James, is directly contrary to the Stipulations of the Treaty of Reswit.

I am not Writing against a War with France, provided it be on justifiable Grounds. But methinks the English Nation are not so inconsiderable in the World, as to siy to shifts and strain'd Constructions, is order to pick Quarrels, with our Neighbours. 'To true, we did it with the Durch in 1672. but, 'tis spoken to the Insamy of a Party which Govern'd at that Day, and our Annals are justly asham'd to set down the story of the Smirna Fleet; and the success was answerable to the Folly and Knavery of the undertaking, having got nothing by that War but Shame, Loss, and a Dishonon-rable Peace.

Those who wou'd have us meet with the same success, may push us upon a War now, with the more reson, but he that desires we shou'd end the War Honourably, ought to desire also that we begin it fairly. Naturably,

I Antipathies are no just ground of a War between lations. Nor Popular Opinions. Nor is every Invasion f Right a good reason for a War, at least till Redress

as first been demanded, in a peaceable way.

I am inform'd a Learned Gentleman, who has a long me oppos'd a War, is now turn'd about, and dilligent, writing Reasons for a War, and since he is become Dostor in Politicks; as well as the Civil Law, I wish e would resolve me this Doubt.

Whether a Breach of the Ballance of Power be a Suffici-

nt ground of a War.

6

of

he

les.

eir

bey

a.

ck

0-

iks

he

in

Tis

en

ay,

IT

to

ot

10.

1C-

ea-

10

CU-

ral

I won't pretend to affirm it is, or it is not, but I

rave leave to make a few Inferences both ways.

ent such a Breach of the Ballance of Power, are both ust and Honourable. Because 'tis certainly Lawful by air means to prevent what 'tis Lawful by force after it appens to oppose.

And if this be granted, I wou'd fain know where the dishonesty of our late Treaty of Partition lies, for

which the King has been fo much abused.

2. We have then a sufficient ground of a War with France, from his placing the Duke D' Anjou on the Throne of Spain, tho his Title had been indisputably nonest, since the Conjunction of the two Monarchies s certainly Destructive of the Ballance of Power, on which the Peace of Europe, as well as the being of Trade, loes depend.

If a Breach of this Ballance of Power be not a sufficient

round of a War.

Then we have really no just ground to begin a War at all, and I hope we shall never begin one with-

England, as I hinted before, is not, nor I hope never will be so inconsiderable a Nation, as to be oblig'd to make use of dishonest Pretensions to bring to pass my of her Designs.

If there be no Lawful reason for a Breach of the Peace with France, for shame, Gentlemen, let us stand to our

Treat

Treaties like Men of Honour, and give no cause of Reproach, either to the Protestant Religion, or the Honour of our Nation; let us give no occasion for a French General, like the Turkish Emperor at the Battle of Varna, to lift up the Counterpart of our League up to Heaven, in the Day of Battle, and call upon God to behold the Faith of his Protestants.

But if there be sufficient and just grounds of a Wallet them be declar'd, that all the World may know, that as we scorn to trample upon our Faith, so we are not affraid to resent the Affronts put upon us, nor took

our selves Justice by Force.

In order to make out what I have now afferted, shall go on to examine whether there is now any other Foundation, or fair pretence for a War, than what included in what I call a Breach of the Ballance of Power.

And first, I must examine the matter of acknowledging the pretended Prince of Wales as King of England, Scotland and Ireland.

'Tis true, 'tis a Personal Affront to his Majesty, and the English Nation ought to be very tender in bearing any ill usage of him who is so justly dear to them.

But if we examin the Treaty at Reswick, give the Devil his due, we cannot find any Article which med dles with the matter; the Fourth Article is the on place in which the Case is touch'd upon, which is these Words.

[&]quot;And since the most Christian King was never more to firous of any thing, than that the Peace be firm and Industrial of the Successors, that he will on no Account what sover to sturb the said King of Great Britain in the free Posses of the Kingdoms, Countries, Lands or Dominions, who he now enjoys, and therefore engages his Honour, upon the Faith and Word of a King, that he will not give or affecting any Assistance, directly or indirectly, to any Enemy of memies of the said King of Great Britain; And that "we memies of the said King of Great Britain; And that "we memies of the said King of Great Britain; And that "we will not give or any enemy or the said King of Great Britain; And that "we memies of the said King of Great Britain; And that "we were the said King of Great Britain the said King of Great Britain

will in no manner what soe ver favour the Conspiracies or Plots which any Rebels, or ill disposed Persons, may in any place excite or contrive against the said King; And for that end Promises and Engages, That he will not Assist with Arms, Ships, Ammunition, Provisions or Money, or in any other way, by Sea or Land, any Person or Persons who shall hereafter, under any pretence what sover, Disturb or Molest the said King of Great Britain in the free and full possession of his Kingdoms, Countries, Lands and Dominions. The King of Great Britain likewise promises and engages for himself and Successors, Kings of Great Britain, That he will inviolably do and person the same towards the said most Christian King, his Kingdoms, Countries, Lands and Dominions,

Now here is not one Word to enjoin the King of France not to continue the Title of King of England, cotland and Ireland to King James, or any of his Poterity, as a Titular Honour, only that he will not give or afford any Assistance, and this Assistance is explained fterwards, to be either of Arms, Ammunition, Ships, Provisions or Money; the giving them such empty Tiles as they should please themselves with, was and must asky be accounted a thing so trivial, that twas not hought worth the Stipulation of a Treaty.

Some People are willing to make a constructive reach of it, and say this is Assisting him, as it is Enouraging him and his Party: To such I hope I may ave Liberty to say, a War is not to be begun, and the lood and Treasure of a Mation exposed upon contructive Breaches, but direct litteral Infractions of a

reaty.

Ho.

rend

arna.

ven,

1 the

War.

OW,

e are

to do

red,1

other hat is

e of

ledg.

, and

aring

e the

med-

151

re de

Invi

lf an

offess

2 bid

pon th

affar

that h

And let the Encouragement to that new made King, and his drooping Party, be what it will, unless the ling of France does directly or indirectly Aid or Assistment with Arms, Ammunition, Ships, Provisions or More, and thereby disturb his present Majesty in the see Possession of the Kingdoms, Countries, Lands r Dominions which he now enjoys, I see no breach

O ;

Of that Treaty at all, in his Complimenting the young Gentleman in whatfoever Titles he has given him felf.

If the giving Titles to the late King, or his Posterity, had been any matter considerable in the Case, it wou'd no doubt have been considered in the Treaty; but since twas wholly left out, the French King might reasonably be supposed thereby to be left at liberty to call him by what Name or Title he thought sit to desire.

As to the Personal Affront of the King, with all humble submission to his Majesty's Conduct, I only say, that I wish, before his Majesty had recall'd his Ambassador, he had been pleas'd to have ordered him to Demand Satisfaction in that Case; in Answer to which Demand the King of France might possibly have given his Reasons, and made such a Declaration, as might have been a sufficient reparation to the Honour of his Majesty; and if not, then there had been more room for a publick Resentment than now there seems to be.

To me it seems a thing, saving the Resentment bis Majesty has of it, not worth our notice, and had better have been pass'd over as a Trisse, than sasten'd on as the Principle Ground of a War, when there are such material Points always requir'd to make a War just, and when there are such other just Reasons for taking up

Arms now before us.

If a War be necessary, it is just, and if so why should we be affraid of it; if it be not so, we ought not to seek Occasions, and make Constructive Breaches, and Personal Affronts the pretences of it; the French are not so inconsiderable in Power, that we should be sond of a War without reason, nor we so inconsiderable as we need be affraid of a Just and Honourable War; war which must cost the Blood of our Country-men, and the Treasure of our Inhabitants, is not a thing of little Consequence, as may be undertaken upon slight Occasions; nor of so great Consequence, that we should

should be afraid to enter upon it with Just and Honou-

rable Reasons.

ing

m-

eri-

, it

ty;

ght

erty

to

all

fay,

ılla-

and

and

ea-

een

ły;

ub-

14-

rer

the

na-

ind

up

old

10

nd

are

nd

n,

Nor does the placing the Duke D' Anjou on the Throne of Spain give any just pretence for a War with France, unless he himself, makes himself Aggressor, by way of Diversion, otherwise than as it over Ballances the Power we speak of, and therefore the Policy of the French is very Conspicuous, who place all the Opposition made in Italy, and the Possession of Flanders upon the King of Spain, to whom he is only an Auxiliar, Guarding himself thereby from all possible Imputation of Breach of Faith.

And what other Reason can be given for his quitting his Designs upon the Rhine, where the Germans were naked enough, and where a small Diversion would have Embarras'd the Emperor, and lessen'd his Army in Italy; had not the French King sorseen, that thereby he should have given the Confederates a sufficient Ground to Quarrel with him on the Foot of the Treaty of Reswick.

But while he Acts as an Auxiliar for his Grandson, and only lends him Assistance to the placing him in the Spanish Throne, which he says he has a Legal Title to, the Treaty of Reswick remains entire, and you cannot

break with him, without being the Aggresfors.

If you refer to the League made with the House of Austria, as supposing the Right to the Crown of Spain to belong to the Emperor, which seems to be the only real Ground of a War; then our Quarrel is with the Spaniard, not the French; if the French Assists the Spaniard, 'tis at his Peril, he must do it as a Confederate, and there is still no end of declaring War with him on that Account.

And I doubt not, I shall make it out that a War on

that Head, would be the most to our advantage.

It remains now to examine, upon what Foundation a War against France can be undertaken; truly I see none yet, but what must be founded upon the Breach made on the Ballance of Power by the King of France's,

) 4 taking

taking Possession of the Territories of our Allies, and so you must call it a preventive War; whether this be a sufficient Article to make a War Justifiable, I leave to the Worthy Gentleman before mention'd to make out.

in which the Princesengaged have thought fit to make any Declaration, the Reasons of such a War have been

publickly Affign'd.

The meaning of which I take to be thus, that where as no wife Prince will Invade his Neighbours without Cause, nor Engage his Subjects in the Hazards and Expences of a War, in which much Money must be spent, and much Blood be answer'd for, without very good Grounds for a Declaration of War, is an Appeal to God and Man concerning the Justice of the Under-

taking.

Tis true, the French King, the King of Poland, and Czar of Muscowy, have taken up a new Method of late Years; the former gave it for a Reason of his Invading the States General, That he was ill satusfied with them; and the latter have Attacqued the King of Sweden without any Reason or Declaration at all; but all these are accounted Infamous and Dishonourable, and Methods which no just Prince will pursue; and therefore the Declaration against France, at the beginning of the last War has its Reasons at large set down—and these Reasons seem to answer the Question, That a Breach of the Ballant of Power is a sufficient Ground of War.

Before I proceed to the Particulars, I desire to explain my self what I mean by the Ballance of Power, and

what by the Breach of it.

found by Experience, the only way to preserve the Peace of Europe, is, so to form the several Powers and Princes, into Parties and Interests, that either Conjunctively or Seperately, no one Party or Power may be able to suppress another; and so by addition of the Power suppress to his own, grow too strong for his Neighbours

eighbours. I cou'd give many Instances of this Balnce; but to go further, the City of Hamburgh is an
ninent Example of the fafety of such a Ballance;
hich by a due Division of Interest, is preserv'd from
ling into the Hands of the Dane on one Hand, the
randenburgher on another, and the House of Lunenburgh
the other; whereas she were easily devoured by any
those Powers separately and apart.

All our Leagues and Treaties make mention of this illance of Power, being the Foundation of the Peace of trope, and of the last Consequence to be preserved.

The First Treaty of Partition made in behalf of the oung Electoral Prince of Bavaria; has in its Preame, as a Just Cause of such a Treaty, "To Prevent by leasures Taken in Time, the Event which might raise New

ars in Europe.

d

0

92

De,

Ke

en

C-

out

X-

nt,

od

to.

er-

ind

ate

ing

773;

th-

are

De. War

(ons

ance

lain

and

t 15

erve

wers

Con-

may the

his

ours.

The Second Article of the same Treaty says, that Asthe Chief Aim which his Most Christian Majesty, and His Majesty of Great Britain, and the States General, do propose to themselves is, the Maintaining the General Tranquility of Europe; and his Catholick Majesty having no Issue, the Succession, coming to fail, wou'd infallibly occasion in new War; and again Art. III. Whereas the Two Kings, and the States-General, Desire, above all things, the preservation of the publick Quiet; therefore Art. IV. It is Stipulated and Agreed, &c.

Here the Ballance of Power is at large Explain'd, by ving so many Dominions fall into the Hands of one ince; by which he should be too strong, and Conse-

ently able to oppress his Neighbours.

2. By the breach of this Ballance, I mean when any ne Prince, by Brigues, and Intreagues, or otherwise Force, attempts to Enlarge his Power, as is supposed Case of the Death of the King of Spain, in the same easy mentioned before, by which such Prince would come too strong for his Neighbour.

Now fince all Cases, which may justifie a Treaty, may life a War, otherwise no Treaty would have any Sigication; because without power to resent the breach

of

of fuch a Treaty, it wou'd be of no effect; it seems play by these Treaties, that all these Princes do allow an Infraction of the General Tranquility, by any addition of power Destructive of the Due Ballance, is a sufficient Ground of a War; since all these Treaties have an Article of Guarantee, by which each Party Obliges to on another, to join their Forces against whosoever share any breach of such a Treaty. But then it harticle of Guarantee makes the War Justifiable, not bare by the addition, or encrease of Power.

Having thus explain'd my felf, I shall examine wha

iust Grounds we Really have for a War.

For a War with Spain we have most undoubted Just fiable Grounds, which indeed amount to an absolute to cessity, in point of preservation, both of our Comment with other Nations, and the safety of England it is and our Allies.

We are bound by the Laws of Confedercy: The ference Article of the Grand Allyance between the Enperor, England, and the States, wherein it is exped

stipulated.

"That in Case the present King of Spain shall Dye with "Lawful Issue, they will with all their Forces, assist his h "perial Majesty or his Heirs, in taking the Succession of the

Spanish Monarchy, Lawfully belonging to his House.

Here is an Obligation, which I doubt those Gentlemen over-look'd, who said we had nothing to do to concern our selves in the Quarrel between the Emperor and the King of Spain.

The Present possessor of Spain being on avow'd Conderate of France; and having Invaded the Rights of Ally, Common preservation engages us against him.

h

n

lli

This is express in other Cases by an Exhorbitant power when a Prince by invasion of another's Right, or other wise oppressing his Neighbours, manifestly attempts to getting an exorbitant power; it has always been low'd a sufficient just Cause of Leagues and Confeder cies: thus the Emperor Charles 5th. join'd with Henry 18th. and the Venetians Leagu'd against Francis the Fit

plai

n In

n o

Cier Arti

00

fha

s th

bare

wha

Juff

e no

ner

t fel

e fe

En

prel

ritha

is In

of the

entl

O COI

erou

Conf

of

im.

OWO

othe

pts t

en

feder

nry t

dthus Henry the 4th of France, Elizabeth, Queen of gland, and the States, united to suppress the Exorant power of Spain. And thus Gustavus Adolphus agued with the Protestants of Germany, and King Henche 2d of France, to check the Formidable Greatness Ferdinand the 2d Emperour of Germany. If it has thus ternately been the allow'd practice of Princes in all Ass; why shou'd it be Doubtful now, that it is Lawful Consederate for the publick Tranquility; and since the King of Spain has made an aggression, by seizing the awful Inheritance of our Consederate the Emperour; ere is, without doubt, a just and necessary occasion of the signning a War with him.

In the last Declaration of War against France, the premble to the particular Article of Reasons, runs thus.

When we consider the many unjust Methods the French King hath of Late Years taken to gratifie his Ambition, &c. And has declared War against our Allyes without any provocation, we can do no less than joyn with our Allyes in opposing the Designs of the French King, as the Disturber of the Peace, and the Common Enemy of the Christian World. Here the rench King Gratifying his own Ambition, and Disturbing the Publick Peace, and invading our Allyes, is reckned so sufficient a Cause, that we can do no less than syn against him: but surther see the Declaration.

t" And besides the Obligation we lye under by Treaties with our Allies, which are a Sufficient justification of us for taking up Arms at this time, since they have call'd upon us so to do: The many Injuries, &c. And then comes the

fults of the French upon our own Subjects.

Whoever will read the Declaration, will find the permal and particular Injuries as to England are not alleded, nor indeed were not the Caules of that War, tho ey are brought in as Circumstances: but the pretrying the publick Tranquility, the just Defence of our lies, and the performing the Treaties and Engagements made with them.

Thus

This Declaration explains the Doctrine of making War for the Ballance.

The Infulting Our Allies is put before the Injuries to Our Selves.

Thus we have receiv'd no particular Injury from the Duke D'Anjou, nor from the Spanish Nation, nor have no reason to quarrel with them as a Nation, but as the one has Invaded our Ally and Confederate the Emperor and surprized and possess dis Lawful Inheritance, and as the other is in a close Confederacy with, and after by the French Power, to the danger of the Peace, and publick Tranquillity of Europe, we are indispensible bound, besides what has been said, to assist the Emperous with all our Forces for the putting him in Possession of the Spanish Dominions, according to the separate And cle mention'd before.

As to a War with France, I can yet see no Just Foundation to begin it upon, other than as before; I do not say but it may follow as a Consequence, upon the probability of the French King's attacking some part of the Consederacy but till he has done it, it seems not to be our business to meddle with him.

It may be Objected, that while he Assists the King of Spain with all his Forces, though it be as Auxiliars, in

in effect a War with France.

'Tis true, it is Virtually a War with France, and let him look to that, but still 'tis not immediately a War with the French Nation, nor can we justify a War against them until some Breach of the late Treaty of Reswick can be assign'd; unless a contriv'd design of the French King to Aggrandise himself, and his Great and Exorbitant Power be allow'd to be a sufficient reason.

h

21

p

Me

I think I have given no sufficient reason for any Body to suspect me of Jacobitism, or of being a Friend to the French Interest, nor unless I am misunderstood, can any thing be drawn from this Paper to argue, that we should bear to be insulted by the French in the Articles.

the pretended new King.

But if we must go to War, I hope we shall Quarre first with them who have first injur'd us, and who have Invaded our Allies, I mean the King of Spain, if the French will Espouse his Quarrel, let him take his Fate; when he makes the like, or any attack, either upon us or our Alies, as King of France, I hope we shall not be fraid to Declare War against him too; but till he does, we cannot Legally be the aggressors, unless on the Account of the Ballance of Power as aforefaid.

I cannot dismiss this Article without shewing, that by his way of Proceeding, I mean by a War with Spain,

ot with France we shall,

have

s the

eror

and

cte

and

Cabby

Our

n o

Arm

oun

not

prothe

be be

g of

the

iem.

n be ing,

tant

Bo-

d to Can

Wo

le o

rre

1210 the

ate;

115

1. Have many advantages, which otherwise we shall not have in a War with France only, or with both together.

2. The French will have more disadvantages in maintaining a War fo remote from them, than they

wou'd have at home.

If then I can make out first, that 'tis more Honourable, and next, that 'tis more profitable to begin a War with Spain, and not with France, I shall ask no more, et better Reasons be brought by them that can find them out, for I cannot.

1. By a War with Spain the English Trade will be more at Liberty; for, tho' it may be allow'd that many Privateers will be fitted out in France with Spanish Commissioners, yet it will not be supposed to be near he number that used to be during the latesWar, because he French Squadrons continuing long from home, they cannot shift their Men into the Privateers, as they did all War, when sometimes two thirds of the Sea-men of heir Fleet were on board their Privateers, for most part of the Winter, and in the Summer were call'd in again demand; fo that our Trade, especially our home rade, and West-India Trade, will be much freer than etore.

2. Our Plantations will be visibly Enrich'd, both by pen Trade, and constant Depredations in the Spanish Vest-Indies, which never fail'd in a War with Spain, to

e a great gain to the English,

They know very little of Trade, who are ignorant hat the greatest Advantage the French gain of us in a War, is in their Privateers furprizing to many of our lerchant Ships, which can never be avoided in a War, because

because of the great quantity of Shipping we employ in every Corner of the Seas, and the Impossibility of assigning Convoys to every Part of the World.

Some have affirm'd, how true I know not, that during the last War they took Three Thousand Sail of our Ships, and the loss to the English has been computed at

Twenty Millions.

And tho' I question not but that in case of a new Rupture, we shall take some better Care to secure our Trade than was before, yet it must be allow'd, that a great materials

ny of our Ships will fall into their Hands.

And this is the more a Disadvantage to us, because we cannot repay them in kind, the number of their Shipping being so much inferiour to ours, that our Privateers can very rarely make it worth while to fit out: 'Tistrue Capt. Young, and the Fersey and Guernsey Men made something of it, lying so near their Coast, as to be always in view, but for the rest them are but sew Privateers who got enough to make it worth while.

If then our War be Commenc'd with Spain, and not with France, tho' it be in effect a War with France, it will without doubt lessen the number of their Rovers,

and leave our Trade at more Liberty.

'Tis Objected here, that the French know their Advantage, and see it so well, that they will not suffer it, but will declare War first——If so, Argument is at an end, and all the World will own a War Necessary when the French begin it.

I am no Privy Conncellour in France, nor so much a Friend to their Designs, as to be acquainted with them before Hand, but I may be allow'd to guess from what seems to be the Interest of the French, he will never Break

first with us.

Kings never Quarrel for what they possess already, all Aggressors of Force are to procure the Possession of somewhat they cannot otherwise obtain.

The French King has plac'd his Grandson upon the Throne of Spain, if you will let him alone there, his

busines

usiness is not to Quarrel with you, if you disturb him this new Possession he will defend it.

All his proceedings this last Summer, are proofs of his: Fortifying of Flanders, drawing Lines, Strengthing of Towns, laying up Magazines in order to preent your Attacks, has been all the War he has made; ad he intended to have Invaded his Neighbours, whar ould have hindered it, at the first of the Spring, when heir Forces were weak, their Towns unprovided, and he powerful Alliances' they have since made, unconfuded and uncertain; when he had 120 Battalions of oot upon their Frontiers, and some of the best of their orces in his Custody?

I think I do not assume too much, when I say, that is not at all probable he should first Attack us, and am sure we shall be much to blame if we first Attack.

im.

low

of

ing

Dur

at

up-

ade

ma-

use

of that

ern-

neir

nere

orth

not e, it

ers,

Ad-

r it,

t an

hen

uch

hem

what

reak

7, 21

2 of

the his

lineis

It remains to make it out, that the French King will eunder more Disadvantages by a Auxiliary, than by himmediate War.

And to make good this, I need only refer to the War ow on Foot in Italy; and to come to it, I must prenise what is a known Truth, that none of the Domiions of Spain are able of themselves to maintain Forces
nough to defend them; nay, the whole Revenue
if Spain, under the present Occonomy, is not able to
maintain the present Army in Italy, so that generally
beaking, the dead Weight of the Charge must tye upon
the French, this, I suppose, will be readily granted.

Now 'tis plain to those who are acquainted with the ffairs of Italy; that the Army now on Foot there, olfs the King of France more Money than a Hundred housand Men in Flanders; the length of their Marties, the difficulty of Carriage, all their Stores being arried upon Mules over the Mountains, the dearness Provisions, and the expence of Recruites, with a Multude of Et Cetera's, which serve to Enhance the

ccount.

The French Court were not Insensible of this in the War, and the French Polititians gave it as the princip Reason to excuse the unusual, and indeed unheard Concessions made by the French to the Duke of Savo, i order to draw him off from the Confederacy.

And those who blame that Prince's Conduct in quiting his Engagement with the Emperor, would well to consider what the Terms of Accommodation were which the French made with him, and compare them with the Posture his Affairs were then in, or in

deed, were ever likely to be in.

The restoring Peace to his ruin'd Country, the recovering all the Dutchy of Savoy out of the Hands of the French, the dismissing a French Army which has liv'd at Discretion in the Bowels of his Country, and the Gates of his Pallace; the demolishing Pignerol, which was a Hook in his Nostrils, a Fortress of that Impregnable Strength, as it was call'd one of the Keys of France which cost the French 100 Millions in Fortifying and Maintaining, and was an Inlet for a French Army in his Country whenever they pleas'd, the quitting a Debo of many Millions, which was always a handle to take hold of whenever the French found it convenients quarrel with him: The Marrying his Daughter to the Fortune of France, and setting her in the highest Plat of Honour in the World without a Portion.

u

h

h

ba

el

if

n

ile

Co

Why was all this done, but because the French Kin found the expence of a War in Italy Intollerable to him the Councils of France have never been found so Income rent with themselves, as to give away such Countrie and so many Millions for nothing; there must be some Equivalent Consideration, the Forces of the Savoya could not be so formidable to him, for they were a ways beaten: As to the Germans that were there, the were to be expected again upon the Rhine, and the English Auxiliaries in Flanders, the immediate Forces of the Duke were never above 15000, and it cannot imagin'd without monstrous Absurdities, that the

15000 Men could have fuch an Influence on the French, as to be bought off at such an Immense Price.

I think I may Challenge any Man to give a Reason, other than what I infift upon, for the Extravagant Con-

ditions, which the Duke of Savoy obtain'd.

It was the Prodigious Expence of Conveying, Mainaining and Recruiting the French Army beyond the Mountains, that made the French weary of the War

here.

de

y,i

ļui.

ecio

pan r in

2 16

s o

ha

nd a hid

gna

and

and

Deb

tak

nt a

o th Place

Kin

him cohe

ntrie

fom

20901

re a the

Another Difadvantage the French must lye under, is, hat the Seat of War is their own; in former Wars we have found the French have always been wife enough o make War at the cost of the Enemy, the Tables are um'd upon them in Italy, for the Neutrality of the Princes is a thing of fuch Consequence, that they are bliged now to Fight on their own Ground, or that of heir Allies, where they are oblig'd to pay for what hey have, and that at a double Price too, or if they pay in French Coin, they are paid again by the Counry with their Brains being knock'd out.

Imight add, the Inconveniences they are under, from he natural Hatred of the Country, which has given uch manifest Advantages to the Germans this Campaign, hat we have never known the French fo fool'd in the last

age, as they have been in one Summer.

If then there is one Place in the World where the french may be handl'd with more Advantage than anoher, why should not the weight of the War be pres'd ardest there, where the Damage will be most sensibly

elt, and most easily obtain'd.

From the Land, let us examine the State of the War t Sea; I think it will be easily granted me that the Enghand Dutch are Superiour there, let them that questin it, inform us how else could they block up their leet at Thoulon, Bombard their Towns, and Insult their Coast for Two Years together.

If then we main together.

If then we maintain the Superiority at Sea, as I see the reason to Fear; what can hinder us making our elves amends upon the Spaniards in their West-Indies,

for

for all the Losses that either they, or the French, can make

us fuffer by Privateering

If Mounsieur Ponti with but eight Ships could take Carthegena, and bring home a Booty of Five Millions; I cannot see what should prevent us making much greater Advantages.

There never was yet a War between the English and the Spaniard, but that we made Extraordinary Advanta.

ges of their West-India Wealth.

Why should we fancy to our selves, that we shall be less able to make a profit of them now, than in Olive's time, or in Queen Elizabeth's time.

Or why must a Royal Fleet be less able to Injure the Spaniard in the West-Indies, than Monsieur Pointi's little Squadron, or than a few Buccaneers have often done.

I shall not descend to more particulars, only I must

fay in case of a War with Spain;

If our Fleets do not surprize their Galleons, and wholly Interrupt the Commerce of Spain with their Indies.

If our Plantations are not Enrich'd by Constant De-

predations upon the Spaniards in America.

If we do not take from them the Islands of Cuba and Hispaniola.

If we do not Land on the Continent, and share with

them in the Treasures of that Rich Country.

We must either be acted by very ill Councils at home, or have false and ridiculous Management Abroad.

If these Advantages shall be quitted, when there is the justest Ground to begin a War that can be desired; and a War with France Commenc'd on weaker Foundations, where naked Peace must be the utmost of our Wishes if we Conquer, and Blows, and Loss, the constant Attendants of the War, we must indeed go through the worst of it, but surely the World will think this Nation for saken of their Senses, and blind to their Common Interest.

It may be reply'd to all this, we must have a War with both of them; to which I shall say, if it must be so, His Majesty knows better than He can be told, I believe

believe by any Body, how to touch the French in the nost sensible part; and I am perswaded will so wisely order his Assairs, as to be wholly on the defensive Part in Flanders, in order to carry on a War in Remote Places, with more Vigor where the Damage may be greates,

ter, and the danger to their Affairs equal..

2-

2.

's

16

nd

th

ne,

is

d;

da-

our onnro this

Var be be l, I But say others, it is of the utmost Consequence to recover Flanders, as a Barrier to the English and Dutch; I answer, I would Compound with the French for the Conquest of Flanders in 20 Years, although we were to be every Year Victor; but the way to bring the War to a tappy Conclusion, is by wounding the Spaniard in the Weaker, and more sensible Part, so as upon a Peace he shall be glad to quit Flanders for an Equivalent; and if the Germans are well supported in Italy, this may be a far less difficult thing than the recovery of Flanders.

Besides, 'twould deseat the Expectation of the French, ind render all his vast Expences there fruitless, when ome Kingdom is torn from the Spaniard in another lace, for the Recovery of which he shall be glad to quit

s Flanders without Blows.

Thus we may have a War with both, and Fight with one, as well as have a War with one, and Fight with both; the French will always come in, but 'tis he Spaniard we ought to Fight with, for against them we have just Reason to Fight; they are far the easified to be beaten, and from them most is to be got. I say one can find better Reasons, I shall submit when see them.

An ARGUMENT, shewing, the a Standing Army, with Consense of Parliament, is not Inconsistent with a Free Government, &c.

The PREFACE.

rı

d

er

ey

or

he

no

all

av

en

th

T

a hic

th

Fo

ine

HE present Pen and Ink War rais'd against a Stan ing Army, has more ill Consequences in it, than a at first sight to be discern'd. The Pretence is specious, a the cry of Liberty is very pleasing; but the Principle is mo tally Contagious and Destructive of the Essential Safety the Kingdom: Liberty and Property are the Glorious Attn butes of the English Nation; and the dearer they are tou the less danger we are in of losing them; but I could neve yet see it prov'd, that the losing them by a small Am was such as we should expose our selves to all the World it. Some People talk so big of our own Strength, that the think England able to defend it self against all the Worl I presume such talk without Book; I think the prudent Course is to prevent the Trial, and that is only to hold to Ballance of Europe, as the King now does; and if the be a War, to keep it abroad. How these Gentlemen will that with a Militia, I should be glad to see Proposed;' not the King of England alone, but the Sword of England in the Hand of the King, that gives Laws of Peace at War now to Europe; and those who would thus wrest to Sword out of his Hand in time of Peace, bid the fairest any Men in the World to renew the War.

The Arguments against an Army have been strongly urg's and the Authors with an unusual Assurance, Boast alread of their Conquest, though their Armour is not yet put off.

nink their Triumph goes before their Victory; and it poks and Writing will not, God be thanked the Parliament ill Confute them, by taking care to maintain such Forces, d no more, as they think needful for our safety abroad, it hout danger at home, and leaving it to time to make it pear, that such an Army, with Consent of Parliament, is t inconsistent with Free Government, &c.

.en

73 41

more ty o

Attri

to us

Arm

df

t the

Vorl

ntes

dth

the

; "

lan

t th

est

rg'd

read

hin

In ARGUMENT, Shewing, that a Standing Army, &c.

N the great Debates about a Standing Army, and in all the Arguments us'd on one fide and 'tother, it ems to me that both Parties are equally guilty of run-

ng into the Extreams of the Contoversie.

Some have taken up such terrible Notions of an army, that take it how you will, call it what you will; it Rais'd, Paid or Commanded by whom you will, det the Cicumstances be alter'd never so much, the erm is Synonimous, an Army is an Army; and if they don't Enslave us, the Thanks is not to our good onduct; for so many Soldiers, so many Masters: hey may do it if they will; and if they do not do now, they may do it in another Reign, when a King all arise who knows not Joseph, and therefore the sque is not to be run by any means: From hence they aw the Consequence, That a Standing Army is Incontent with a Free Government, &c. which is the Title the Argument.

This we find back'd by a Discourse of Militia's; and a 2d. Part of the Argument, &c. and all these Three, hich seem to me to be wrote by the same Hand, agree this Point in General, That the War being at an end, Forces at all are to be kept in Pay, no Men to be Main-seed whose Protession is bearing Arms, whose Com-

million

E

mission is to Kill and Slave, as he has it in the SecondPart but they must be Dismiss, as Men for whom there is no more Occasion against an Enemy, and are dangerous to be kept up, least they find Occasion against our selves.

The Advocates for the Necessity of a Standing Army, seem to make light of all these Fears and Jealouses; and plead the Circumstances of the Kingdom, with Relation to our Leagues and Confederacies abroad, the Strength of our Neighbours, a Pretender to the Crown in Being, the uncertainties of Leagues, and the like, a Arguments to prove an Army necessary. I must own these are no Arguments any longer than those Circumstances continue, and therefore can amount to no more than to argue the necessity of an Army for a time, which time none of them has ventur'd to Assign, not to say how, being once Establish'd, we shall be sured be rid of them, in case a new King should succeed be fore the time be expir'd, who may not value our Liberty at the rate his present Majesty has done.

I defire calmly to confider both these Extreams, and if it be possible, to find out the safe Medium which may

please us all.

If there be any Person who has an ill design in pull ing thus against the Soldiery. I am not to expect, the less than a Disbanding the Army will satisfie him; bu fuch who have no other end than preferving our Liber ries entire, and leaving them so to Posterity, will be sais fied with what they know is sufficient to that end; fi be who is not content with what will fully answer the en be proposes, has some other end than that which be propose I make no Reflections upon any Party, but I propol to direct this Discourse to the honest well-meaning English-Free-holder, who has a share in the Terra from and therefore is concern'd to preferve Freedom to the Inhabitant, who loves his Liberty better than his Lib and won't fell it for Money; and this is the Man wh has the most reason to fear a Standing Army, for he has fomething to lofe; as he is most concern'd for the Sale ty of a Ship, who has a Cargo on her bottom.

This Man is the hardest to be made believe, that he cannot be safe without an Army, because he finds he is not easy with one. To this Man all the sad Instances of the Slavery of Nations, by Standing Armies, stand as so many Buoys to warn him of the Rocks which other Free Nations have split upon; and therefore 'tis to this Man we are to speak.

And, in order to state the Case right, we are to distinguish first between England formerly, and England now; between a Standing Army able to enslave the Nation, and a certain Body of Forces enough to make

us safe.

Part:

ere is

erous

elves.

Army,

uires;

h Re-

, the

Own

(e, a)

OWD

cum-

more

time,

, nor

re to

d be-

iber

and

may

push

tha ; bu iber

fatis

; fa

poles

pol

nin

Grm

th Life

wh

· ha

Safe

Thi

England now is in fundry Circumstances, different from England formerly, with respect to the manner of Fighting, the Circumstances of our Neighbours, and of our Selves; and there are some reasons why a Militia are not, and perhaps I might make it out, cannot be made fit for the Uses of the present Wars. In the Ancient Times of England's Power, we were for many Years the Invaders of our Neighbours, and quite out of fear of Invasions at Home; but before we arriv'd to that Magnitude in the World, 'tis to be observ'd we were hardly ever Invaded, but we were Conquer'd. William the Conqueror was the last; and if the Spaniard did not do the fame, 'twas because God set the Elements in Battle Array against them, and they were prevented bringing over the Prince of Parma's Army; which, if they had done, 'twould have gone very hard with us; but we owe it wholly to Providence.

I believe it may be said, that from that time to this Day, the Kingdom has never been without some Standing Troops of Soldiers entertain'd in Pay, and always either kept at Home, or employ'd Abroad; and yet no evil Consequence follow'd, nor do I meet with any Votes of the Parliament against them as Grievances or Motions made to Disband them, till the Days of King Charles the first. Queen Elizabeth, tho' she had no Guard du Corps, yet she had her Guards du Terres. She had even

E 4

to her last Hour, several Armies, I may call them, in Par among Foreign States and Princes, which, upon any vifible Occasion, were ready to be call'd Home. King Fames the First had the same in Holland, in the Service of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and in the Unfortunate Service of the King of Bobemia; and that Scotch Regiment, known by the name of Douglas's Re. giment, have been (they fay) a Regiment 250 Years. King Charles the First had the same in the several Expe. ditions for the Relief of Rochel, and that fatal Descent upon the Isle of Rhe, and in his Expedition into Scotland: and they would do well to reconcile their Discourse to it felf, who fay in one place, If King Charles had had Five Thousand Men, the Nation had never struck one strong for their Liberties; and at the same time say, in another place, That the Parliament were like to have been Petition'd out of Doors by an Army a hundred and fifty Miles of, tho' there was a Scotch Army at the Heels of them : For to me it appears that King Charles the First had an Army then, and would have kept it, but that he had not the Purse to pay them, of which more may be said hereafter.

But England now stands in another Posture, our Peace at Home feems fecure, and I believe it is fo; butto maintain our Peace Abroad, 'tis necessary to enter into Leagues and Confederacies: Here is one Neighbour grown too great for all the rest; as they are single Statu or Kingdoms, and therefore to mate him, feveral mult join for mutual Affistance, according to the Scotch Law of Duelling, that if one can't beat you ten shall. Alliances are under certain Stipulations and Agreements, with what Strength, and in what Places, to aid and all one another; and to perform these Stipulations, something of Force must be at hand, if occasion require That these Confederacies are of absolute and indispenfible necessity, to preserve the Peace of a weaker against a stronger Prince, past Experience has taught us 100

plainly to need an Argument.

bi

de

V

ha

e

te C

If

e (

ad

ig be 8

3.

at

e.

nt

0

14

k

19

1.

10

n

10

id

ce

01

to

ur

tes aft

W

IS,

life

ne-

re:

n-

nst oo

There is another constant Maxim of the present State the War; and that is, * carry the War into your Enees Country, and always keep it out of your own. This is Article has been very much opposed, 'tis true; and me, who knew no better, would talk much of the nitless Expence of a War Abroad; as if it was not orth while to defend your Confederates Country, to ake it a Barrier to your own. This is too weak an rgument also to need any trouble about; but this ain makes it absolutely necessary to have always some roops ready to fend to the Affistance of those Confedetes if they are invaded. Thus at the Peace of Nimeen, fix Regiments were left in Holland, to continue ere in time of Peace, to be ready in case of a Rup-To fay, that instead of this we will raise them r their affiftance, when wanted, would be fomething, this potent Neighbour, were not the French King, hose Velocity of Motion the Dutch well remember in 172. But then, say they, we may send our Militia. rst, The King cannot Command them to go; and Second-, if he could, no body would accept them; and if they ould go, and would be accepted of, they would be od for nothing: If we have no Forces to affift a Conderate, who will value our Friendship, or assist us if e wanted it? To fay we are Self dependent, and shall ever need the Assistance of our Neighbour, is to fay hat we are not fure of, and this is certain it is as edful to maintain the Reputation of England in the teem of our Neighbours, as 'tis to defend our Coasts case of an Invasion; for keep up the Reputation of Ir Power, and we shall never be Invaded.

If our Defence from Insurrections or Invasions were conly necessary part of a future War, I should be the adier to grant the point, and to think our Militia ight be made useful; but our business is *Principiis* of the fa, to beat the Enemy before he comes to our own

This is a Maxim which the French have always observed, who have taken Care to make their Army live at their Enemy's Charge.

door.

door. Our Business in case of a Rupture, is to a our Confederate Princes, that they may be able to stan between us and Danger: Our Business is to present Flanders, to Garrison the Frontier Towns, and be into Field in Conjunction with Confederate Armies: This the way to prevent Invasions, and Descents. An when they cantell us that our Militia is proper for the

work, then we will fay fomething to it.

I'll suppose for once what I hope may never fall on That a Rupture of this Peace shou'd happen, and the French, according to Custom, break suddenly into Fladers, and over-run it, and after that Holland, what Condition wou'd such a Neighbourhood of such a Prince reduce us to? If it be answer'd again, Soldiers may be rais'd to assist them. I answer, as before, let those who say so, read the History of the French King's Irruption into Holland in the Year 1672, where he conquer'd so strong Fortisted Towns in 6 Weeks time: And tell me what it will be to the purpose to raise Men to sight a

bi

Enemy after the Conquest is made.

Twill not be amiss to observe here, that the Reputation and Influence the English Nation has had about among the Princes of Christendom, has been always more or less according as the Power of the Prince, to aid at assist, or to injure and offend, was esteem'd. Thus Quest Elizabeth carried her Reputation Abroad by the Courage of her English Soldiers and Seamen, and on the contrary, what a ridiculous figure did King James, will his Beati Pacifi, make in all the Courts of Christendom How did the Spaniards and the Emperor banter and bush him? How was his Ambassador asham'd to treat the him, while Count Colerodo told Count Mansfield, That him, while Count Colerodo told Count Mansfield, That how Master (meaning King James) knew neither but to make Peace or War? King Charles the First sar'd must in the same manner: And how was it altered in the Case of Oliver.

The his Government did a Tyrant resemble; He made England Great, and her Enemies tremble. Dialogue of the Horse

And what is it places the present King at the Helm of Confederacies? Why do they commit their Armies his Charge, and appoint the Congress of their Plenimentaries at his Court? Why do distressed Princes feek s Mediation, as the Dukes of Holftein, Savey, and the e? Why did the Emperor and King of Spain leave e whole Management of the Peace to him? 'Tis all om the Reputation of his Conduct, the English Vaur under him; and 'tis absolutely necessary to support is Character which England now bears in the World, r the great Advantages which may and will be made om it; and this Character can never Live, nor thefe Ilvances be supported, with no force at Hand to perorm the Conditions.

These are some Reasons why a Force is necessary, but the Question is, What Force? For, I Grant, it does not blow from hence, that a great Army must be kept on oot in time of Peace, as the Author of the Second Part

f the Argument fays, is pleaded for.

TY

the

Thi

And

thi

Out

the Flan

nd

ince

ay b who ption

d 6

ellm

ht a

pura

broad

mon d an

2100

Con

n th

, wit

ndom buffoo at to bat b

Horie

An

Since then no Army, and a great Army, are extreams qually dangerous, the one to our Liberty at Home, nd the other to our Reputation Abroad, and the Safey of our Confederates; it remains to Inquire what Medium is to be found out; or, in plain English, what rmy may, with fafety to our Liberties, be Maintain'd n England, or what means may be found out to make ach an Army serviceable for the Defence of us, and our Allies, and yet not dangerous to our Constiution.

That any Army at all can be Safe, the Argument de-ies, but that cannot be made out; a Thousand Men is in Army as much as 100000; as the Spanish Armada is That be all'd, An Armada, tho' they feldom fit out above Four or he Men of War; and on this Account I must crave leave to in the Standing Army is Inconsistent with a free Government, and I shall further do it by the Auhority of Parliament.

In the Claim of Right, presented to the present K. 2014 which he swore to observe as the Pacta Conventa of the Kingdom, it is declared, That the Raising or Keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace, unless

it be by Consent of Parliament, is against Law.

This plainly lays the whole stress of the Argumen not against the thing it self, A Standing Army, nor against the Season, in time of Peace, but against the Circumstance, Consent of Parliament; and I think nothing is more Rational than to Conclude from thence, that Standing Army in time of Peace, with Consent of Parliament, is not against Law, and I may go on, nor is not Inconsistent with a free Government, nor Destructive of the English Monarchy.

There are two Distinctions necessary therefore in the present Debate, to bring the Question to a narrow

Compais.

First, I distinguish between a Great Army, and a small Army. And

Secondly, I distinguish between an Army kept on Foot without Consent of Parliament, and an Army with Consent of Parliament.

And whereas we are told, an Army of Soldiers is an Army of Masters, and the Consent of Parliament don't alter it, but they may turn them out of Doors who Rais'd them, as they did the Long Parliament. The First distinction answers that; for it a great Army may do it, a small Army can't; and then the Second Dissinction regulates the First. For it cannot be supposed, but the Parliament when they give that Consent which can only make an Army Lawful, will not Consent to a larger Army than they can so Master, as that the Liberties or People of England, shall never be in danger from them.

No Man will say this cannot be, because the Number may be supposed as small as you please; but to a you the Sophistry of an Argument, I'll suppose the ve-

air

he

the

y Troops which we fee the Parliament have not Voed to be Disbanded; that is, those which were on Foot efore the Year 1680. No Man will deny them to be Standing Army, and yet fure no Man will imagine a-

y danger to our Liberties from them.

and

the

ng a nlefi

1em

inf

um.

Si

at a

Par.

not

e of

the

WO

mall

Foot

vith

an

on't

vho

The

nay

lin-

fed,

ich

to

Li-

get

1111-

2

ve-

We are ask'd, if you establish an Army, and a Reveue to pay them, How shall we be fure they will not contiue themselves? But will any Man ask that Question of uch an Army as this? Can Six Thousand Men tell the lation they won't Disband, but will continue themelves, and then Raife Money to do it? Can they Exact by Military Execution? If they can, our Militia must e very despicable. The keeping such a Remnant of an army does not hinder, but the Militia may be made as seful as you please; and the more useful you make it, he less danger from this Army: And however it may ave been the Business of our Kings to make the Militia sufeless as they could, the present King never shew'd my Tokens of fuch a Defign. Nor is it more than will e needful, for 6000 Men by themselves won't do, if he Invasion we speak of should ever be attempted. What as been said of the Appearance of the People on the urbeck fancied Invasion, was very true; but I must say, ad it been a true One of Forty Thousand Regular roops, all that Appearance cou'd have done nothing, ut have drove the Country in order to starve them, and hen have run away: I am apt enough to grant what has een said of the Impracticableness of any Invasion upon s, while we are Masters at Sea; but I am sure the Deence of England's Peace, lies in making War in Flaners. Queen Elizabeth found it so, her way to beat the paniards, was by helping the Dutch to do it. And she much Defended England in aiding Prince Maurice, win the Great Battel of Newport, as she did in Deating their Invincible Armada. Oliver Cromwel took he same Course; for he no sooner declar'd War aainst Spain, but he Embark'd his Army for Flanders: he late King Charles did the same against the French, hen after the Peace of Nimeguen, Six Regiments of Eng-

lish and Scots were always left, in the Service of the Dutch and the present War is a further Testimony: For when has it been Fought, not in England, God be thanked, but in Flanders? And what are the Terms of the Peace, but more Frontier Towns in Flanders? And what is the Great Barrier of this Peace, but Flanders; the Confe. quence of this may be guess'd by the Answer King W. liam gave when Prince of Orange, in the late Treaty of Nimeguen; when, to make the Terms the easier, 'twa offer'd, That a Satisfaction shou'd be made to bim by the French, for his Lands in Luxemburgh; to which the Prince generously reply'd, He would part with all his Lands in Luxemburgh to get the Spaniards one good Frontie Town in Flanders. The reason is plain; for every one of those Towns, tho' they were immediately the Spaniards, were really Bullworks to keep the French the further off from his own Country; and thus it is now: And how our Militia can have any share in this part of the War, I cannot imagine. It feems strange to me to re concile the Arguments made use of to magnifie the Serviceableness of the Militia, and the Arguments to enforce the Dread of a Standing Army; for they stand like two Batteries one against another, where the Shot from one dismounts the Cannon of the other: If a small Army may enslave us, our Militia are good for nothing; f good for nothing they cannot defend us, and then the Army is necessary: If they are good, and are able to defend us, the a small Army can never burt us, for what may defend u Abroad, may defend us at Home, and I wonder this is not consider'd. And what is plainer in the World than that the Parliament of England have all along agreed to this Point. That a Standing Army in time of Peace, with Consent of Parliament, is not against Law. The Establishment of the Forces in the time of King Charles II. Wa not, as I remember, ever objected against in Parliament, a least we may fay the Parliament permitted them if they did not establish them: And the present Parliament seems enclin'd to continue the Army on the same foot, so far as may be suppos'd from their Vote to disband all the Forces

orces raised since 1680. To affirm then, That a Standg Army, (without any of the former Distinctions) is inmission, oc. is to argue against the General Sense of ne Nation, the Permission of the Parliament for 50 ears past, and the present apparent Resolutions of the off Composed House that perhaps ever entred within hose Walls.

To this House the whole Nation has left the Case, to start as they see cause; to them we have committed the harge of our Liberties, nay, the King himself has only old them his Opinion, with the Reasons for it, withteleading them at all; and the Article of the Claim of ight is left in full sorce: For this Consent of Parliament now left the whole and sole Judge, Whether an Army to Army; and if it Votes an Army, 'tis left still the le Judge of the Quantity, how many, or how few.

Here it remains to enquire the direct Meaning of ofe words, Unless it be by Consent of Parliament, and I ambly suppose they may, among other things, include

ese Particulars.

ut

ut

he

fe.

71

d

N25

the

the

bis

tier

one

ani-

her

And

the

16.

Ser-

en.

tand

Shot

3; \$

rmy

t ben

id us

71S 18

than

d to with

olish-

Was

nt, at

they

Ceems
To far
The
Orces

1. That they be raised and continued not by a Tacit, but Explicite Consent of Parliament; or, to speak directly, by an Act of Parliament.

2. That they be continued no longer than such Explicite

Consent shall limit and appoint.

If these two Heads are granted in the word Consent, mobile to affirm, such an Army is not inconsistent with a

ee Government, &c.

I am as positively assured of the Sasety of our Libers under the Conduct of King and Parliament, while ey concur, as I am of the Salvation of Relievers by the laws of our Saviour; and I hardly think 'tis sit for a prite Man to impose his positive Rules on them for Mod, any more than 'tis to limit the Holy Spirit, whose te Agency is beyond his Power: For the King, Lords d Commons, can never err while they agree; nor is Army of 20 or 40000 Men either a Scarcrow enough enslave us, while under that Union.

If this be allow'd, then the Question before us is, who may conduce to make the Harmony between the Kin Lords and Commons eternal? And so the Debate about

an Army ceases.

But to leave that Question, fince Frailty attends best of Persons, and Kings have their faux Pas, as well other Men, we cannot expect the Harmony to be mortal; and therefore to provide for the worst, Parliaments have made their own Consent, the m Clause that can make an Army Legitimate: But to that an Army directly as an Army, without thefell stinctions, is destructive of the English Monarchy, Inconsistent with a Free Government, &c. is to fave that the Parliament can destroy the English Monarch and can Establish that which is Inconsistent with a B Government, which is ridiculous. But then we told, that the Power of the Sword was placed in the La or Barons, and how they fero'd the King in his Warsw themselves, and their Vassals, and that the King had no Pa to Invade the Privileges of the Barons, having no di Forces than the Vassals of his own Demeasnes to follow in And this Form is applauded as an extraordinary (stitution, because there is no other Limitation of a Mon chy of any Signification, than such as places the Swordin Hand of the Subject: And all such Governments, where Prince bus the Power of the Sword, tho' the People have Power of the Purse, are no more Monarcheis but Tyrann For not only that Government is tyrunnical which is tyru cally exercis'd, but all Governments are tyrannical which not in their Constitution sufficient Security against the A Power of their Prince; that is, which have not Power of the Sword to Imploy against him if it

Thus we come to the Argument: Which is not he many Troops may be allow'd, or how long; but short, No Mercenary Troops at all can be maintain'd with Destroying our Constitution, and Metamorphozing on

vernment into a Tyranny.

Kin

abo

dst

well

e i

t, o

e on

tol

fel

y, 2

yth

rch

a Fr

wea

La

יוער פיין

Pon

o oth

v bin

Co

Mon

din

beret

avet

anni

YTAK

ch ho

e A

not

f ne

ot h

but

with

047

I admire how the Maintainer of this Basis came to nitgiving us an Account of another Part of History ry needful to examine, in handing down the true otion of Government in this Nation, viz. of Parliaents. To supply which, and to make way for what llows, I must take leave to tell the Reader, that about e time, when this Service by Villenage and Vaffalage gan to be refented by the People, and by Peace and ade they grew rich, and the Power of the Barons ing too great, frequent Commotions, Civil Wars and ttels were the Confequence, nay, fometimes without ncerning the King in the Quarrel: One Nobleman ould Invade another, in which the weakest suffered oft, and the Poor Man's Blood was the Price of all; the ople obtain'd Privileges of their own, and oblig'd King, and the Barons, to accept of an Equilibrium; s we call a Parliament: And from this the due Balice, we have so much heard of, is deduced. I need clead my Reader to the Times and Circumstances of s, but this due Ballance is the Foundation on which now stand, and which the Author of the Argument highly Applauds as the best in the World; and I peal to all Men to judge if this Ballance be not a norConstitution in all its Points, than the old Gothick odel of Government.

In that the Tyranný of the Barons was intollerable, Misery and Slavery of the Common People insuptable, their Blood and Labour was at the absolute and of the Lord, and often sacrificed to their private arrels: They were as much at his beck, as his Pack Hounds were at the Sound of his Horn; whether was to march against a Foreign Enemy, or against in coun Natural Prince: So that this was but exanging one Tyrant for three hundred, for so many Barons of England were accounted at least. And s was the Effect of the Security vested in the People, inst the Arbitrary Power of the King; which was say, the Barons took care to maintain their own Tyrand, and to prevent the King's Tyranniang over

But 'tis faid, The Barons growing poor by the Luxum of the Times, and the Common People growing rich, the exchang'd their Vassalage for Leases, Rents, Fines, and the like. They did so, and thereby became entituled to the Servcie of themselves; and so overthrew the Statement, and from hence came a House of Commons: And I hope England has reason to value the Alteration. In them that think not restect on the Freedoms the Commons enjoy in Poland, where the Gothick Institution is mains, and they will be satisfied.

In this Establishment of a Parliament, the Sword's indeed trusted in the Hands of the King, and the Purision the Hands of the People; the People cannot make Peace or War without the King, nor the King cannot raise or maintain any Army without the People; and

this is the true Ballance.

But we are told, The Power of the Purse is not a sufficient Security, without the Power of the Sword: What! No against ten thousand Men? To answer this, 'tis necessary to examine how far the Power of the Sword's in the Hands of the People already, and next whether the Matter of Fact be true.

I say the Sword is, in part, in the Hands of the People already, by the Militia, who, as the Argument say, are the People themselves. And how are they Ballanc'd? Tis true, they are Commissioned by the King, buther may refuse to meet twice, till the first Pay is reimburd to the Country: And where shall the King Raise it without a Parliament? That very Militia would prevent him. So that our Law therein Authorizing the Militia to the fuse the Command of the King, tacitly puts the Sword into the Hands of the People.

I come now to Examine the Mattter of Fact, That the Purse is not an Equivalent to the Sword, which I deny to be true; and here twill be necessary to Examine, How often our Kings of England have raised Armies on their own Heads, but have been forced to Disband them for want of Monies, nay, have been forced to call a Parlia.

ment to raise Money to Disband them.

King

16

is

ej

0

m

hip

King Charles the First is an Instance of both these; or his First Army against the Scots he was forced to dismiss for want of Pay; and then was forced to call Parliament to Pay and Dismiss the Scots; and the ad an Army in the Field at the Pacification, and a hurch Army too, yet he durst not attempt to Raise

loney by them. I want I wine to work to to to the a tad'T

in by he

古古

Le

Ŋ.

re.

na

and

Not

12-

s in

the

ple

ays,

hey

ith-

im.

re-

ord

the

7 to

low

heis

for

112-

ing

I am therefore to affirm, That the Power of the Puris an Equivalent to the Power of the Sword; and I believe can make it appear, if I may be allowed to initance those numerous Armies which Gaspar Coligni, Admiof France, and Henry the Fourth King of Navarre, and Villiam the First Prince of Orange, brought out of Gerany into France, and into the Low Countries, which all anished, and could attempt nothing for want of a urfe to maintain them: But to come nearer, what ade the Efforts of King charles all abortive, but vant of the Purse? Time was he had the Sword in his land, when the Duke of Buckingham went on those ruitless Voyages to Rochell, and himself afterwards to cotland; he had Forces on Foot, a great many more ian five thousand, which the Argument mentions, ut he had not the Purse; at last he attempted to take without a Parliament, and that Ruin'd him. King Charles he Second found the Power of the Purfe, so much Outallanced the Power of the Sword, that he fat still, and t the Parliament Disband his Army for him, almost bether be would or no. deall was a find a house by

Besides the Power of the Purse in Angland, dissers tom what the same thing is in other Countries, because is so facred a thing, that no King even touch d at it, but a found his Ruin in it. Nay, 'tis so edious to the Nation, that whoever attempts it, must at the same me be able to make an Entire Conquest, or nothing.

If then neither the Consent of Parliament; nor the smalis of an Army proposed, nor the Power of the Sword in the Hands of the Militia, which are the People themselves, or the Power of the Purse, are a sufficient Ballance against against the Arbitrary Power of the King, what sha we say? Are ten thousand Men in Arms without Money, without Parliament Authority, hem'd in with the whole Militia of England, and Damn'd by the Laws Are they of such Force as to break our Constitution. I cannot see any reason for such a Thought. The Parliament of England is a Body, of whom we may say that no Weapon formed against them could ever Prosper and they know their own Strength, and they know what Force is needful, and what hurtful, and they will certainly maintain the first, and Disband the last.

It may be said here, 'Tis not the fear of ten thousa Men, 'tis not the matter of an Army, but 'tis the Thin it self; grant a Revenue for Life, and the next King we call it, My Revenue; and so grant an Army for this King

and the next will fay, Give me my Army.

oftner ask'd in Parliament than deny'd; and we have fo many Instances in our late Times of the Power of the Parse, that it seems strange to me, that it should not be the power of the Parse.

allow'd to be a sufficient Ballance.

King Charles the Second, as I hinted before, was a ry loath to part with his Army rais'd in 1676; buth was forced to it for want of Money to pay them; had not try, whether when Money had raised an Am an Army could not raise Money. 'Tis true, his Revenue were large, but Frugality was not his Talent, and the ruin'd the Design. King James the Second was ago Husband, and that very Husbandry had almost ruin the Nation; for his Revenues being well-managed, maintain'd an Army out of it. For tis well known, the had, 'tis probable his Army raise any Money, he had, 'tis probable his Work had been sooner do than it was.

But pray let us examine Abroad, if the Purse has Governed all the Wars of Europe. The Spaniards we once the most powerful People in Europe; their Insan were in the Days of the Prince of Parma, the most winch

fic

ca

en his Subjects, and on whom he had levied Immense and of Money, had the 10th Penny demanded of em, and the demand back'd by a great Army of these ry Spaniards, which among many other Reasons caudithem to Revolt. The Duke D' Alva afterwards attempted for his Master to raise this Tax by his Army, by which lost the whole Netherlands, who are now the chest People in the World; and the Spaniard is now become the meanest and most despicable People in Euorpe, adthat only because they are the Poorest.

The present War is another Instance, which having sted eight Years, is at last brought to this Conclusion. but he who had the longest Sword has yielded to them who

dthe longest Purse.

Mo

Wil

ושב

ion:

Par

far

ofper

non

W

u fan

g wi

King

n a

han

of th

oth

25 10

ut b

n;

ATM

enu

1 11

1 god

run

ed, b

n, d

out

ney;

1. 00

143 1

s We

fant

oft 1

incid

The late King Charles the First, is another most lively stance of this Matter, to what lamentable Shifts did drive himself? And how many despicable Steps did take, rather than call a Parliament, which he had to think of. And yet, tho' he had an Army on not, he was forced to do it, or starve all his Men; had been to be done, he would have done it. 'Tis true, was said the Earl of Strafford propos'd a Scheme to ing over an Army out of Ireland, to force England to his rms; but the Experiment was thought too desperate be attempted, and the very Project ruin'd the Prostor; such an ill Fate attends every Contrivance aninst the Parliament of England,

But I think I need go no further on that Head, The ower of Raising Money is wholly in the Parliament, a Ballance to the Power of raising Men, which is in e King; and all the Reply I can meet with is, That is Rallance signifies nothing, for an Army can Raise Money, as well as Money Raise an Army; to which I answer, thides what has been said already; I do not think it praisable in England: The greatest Armies in the Hands of e greatest Tyrants we even had in England; never and attempt it. We find several Kings in England we attempted to Raise Money without a Parliament,

Q:

and

and have tried all the means they could to bring it to pass; and they need not go back to Richard the Second to Edward the Second, to Edward the Fourth, to Hem the Eighth, or to Charles the First, to remind the Real der of what all Men who know any thing of History are acquainted with: But not a King ever yet attempted to Raife Money, by Military Execution, or Billetting Sol. diers upon the Country. King Fames the Second had the greatest Army, and the Best, as to Discipline, thatany King ever had; and his desperate Attempts on our Li berties show'd his good Will, yet he never came to that Point I won't deny, but that our Kings have been willing to have Armies at Hand, to back them in their Arbitran Proceedings, and the Subjects may have been aw'd by them from a more early Resentment; but must observe that all the Invasion of our Rights, and all the Arbitrary Methods of our Governors, has been under pretences of Law. King Charles the First Levy'd Ship-Money as his due, and the Proclamations for that purpose cite the pretended Law, that in Case of Danger from a Foreign E nemy, Ships should be fitted out to defend us, and a Men were bound to Contribute to the Charge, Coat and Conduct Money had the like Pretences; Charters were ful verted by Quo Warrantoes, and Proceedings at Law; Ph triots were Murther'd under Formal Profecutions, and all was pretended to be done legally.

Where the Soldiery were employ'd as Soldiers in open Defiance of Law, to destroy the People's Liberties by Military Absolute Power, and that stands as an Everlasting Brand of Insamy upon our Militia; and is an Instance to prove beyond the Power of a Reply, That ever our Militia under a bad Government, let them be our selves and the People, and all those fine Things never so much, at under ill Officers, and ill Management, as dangerous a lany Soldiery whatever, will be as Insolent, and do the

Drudgery of a Tyrant as effectually.

In the Year 1682. when Mr. Dubois, and Mr. Papillion a Member of the Present Parliament, were chosen she

fs of London, and Sir John Moor, under pretence of e Authority of the Chair, pretended to nominate one eriff himself, and leave the City to chuse but one, and onfirm the Choice of the Mayor, the Citizens flruged for their Right, " and flood firm to their Choice, d several Adjournments were made to bring over the ajority of the Livery, but in vain: Ar length the Day me when the Sheriffs were to be sworn, and when e Livery-men assembled at Guild-ball to swear their periffs, they found the Hall Garrison'd with a Comny of Trained-Bands under Lieutenant Col. Quiney, a itizen himself, and most of the Soldiers, Citizens and habitants; and by this Porce the Ancient Livery-men cre thut out, and feveral of them thrown down, and inlently used, and the Sheriffs thrust away from the Hustgs, and who the Lord Mayor pleafed was Sworn in an en Defiance of the Laws of the Kingdom, and Priviges of the City, * This was done by the Militia to their verlasting Glery, and I do not remember the like done va Standing Army of Mercenaries, in this Age at least. or is a Military Tyranny practicable in England, if we onlider the power the Laws have given to the Civil Mastrate, unless you at the same time imagine that Army rge enough to subdue the whole English Nation at once, hich if it can be effected by fuch an Army as the Parament now feem enclined to permit, we are in a very lean Condition.

I know it may be objected here, that the Forces hich were on Foot before 1680, are not the Army in chate, and that the Design of the Court was to have a

uch greater Force.

it to

cond

Henry

Rea.

y are

ed to

Sol.

nat a.

r Li-

oint.

ig to

trary

d by

erve,

rary

esof

his

pre-

n E.

1 21

and

fub-

Pa-

and

ory,

pen

y 2

rer-

In-

ves

ves

att

he

I do not know that, but this I know, that those Fors were an Army, and the Design of all these Opponents an Army is, in so many Words, against any Army at

This old Cuffom is reviv'd again, and tamely submitted to by the ly in spight of the Law, and in Contempt of the Resolution of those An Emblem of Legal Tyranny. We insensite The legal Tyranny.

ell, small as well as great; a Tenet absolutely deline etive of the present Interest of England, and of the Traties and Alliances made by His Majesty with the Prince and States of Europe, who depend so much on his Air

in Guard of the present Peace,

The Power of making Peace or War is vested in the King: 'Tis part of his Prerogative, but 'tis implicitly in the People, because their Negative as to payment, do really influence all those Actions. Now, if when the King makes War, the Subject should refuse to all him, the whole Nation would be ruin'd: Suppose in the Leagues and Confederacies His Present Majesty engage'd in for the Maintenance of the present Peace all the Confederates are bound in case of a Breach was assisted another with so many Men, say ten thousand for the English Quota, more or less, where shall they be found? Must they stay till they are Rais'd? To what purpose would it be then for any Confederate to depose upon England for Assistance?

It may be said, indeed, if you are so engag'd by Leagues or Treaties, you may hire Foreign Troops to assist till you can raise them. This Answer leads to see ral Things, which would take up too much room here.

Foreign Troops require two Things to procure them. Time to Negotiate for them, which may not be to be spar'd, for they may be almost as soon rais'd; Timeson their March from Germany, for there are none nearers be hir'd, and Money to Hire them, which must be has by Parliament, that is a longer way still; if without, the opens a worse Gate to Slavery than t'other: For is King have Money, he can raise Men, or hire Men who he will; and you are in as much danger then, and most than you can be in now from a Standing Army: Standing Money is the same thing as giving Men, as it appear'd in the late K. Fames's Reign, both must be prevented, or both may be allow'd.

But the Parliament we see needs no Instructions in this Matter, and therefore are providing to reduce the

Force

orces to the same Quota they were in before 1680, by which means all the fear of Invading our Liberties will e at an end, the Army being so very small that 'tis impossible, and yet the King will have always a Force thand to assist his Neighbours, or defend himself till more can be Raised. The Forces before 1680 were an Army, and if they were an Army by Consent of Pariament, they were a Legal Army; and if they were Legal, then they were not Inconsistent with a Free Government, &c. for nothing can be Inconsistent with a Free Government, which is done according to the Laws of that Government: And if a Standing Army has been in England Legally, then I have proved, That a Standing Army is not Inconsistent with a Free Government, &c.

The Danger of the Protestant Religion, from the present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe.

To the KING.

SIR.

elfry.

Tre

rino

Ai

1 the

ly in

do

o the

alle in

fty is

eace

th markant y be purpend

eve

ere.

r to had by that if

101

ou

IS not the meanest of Your Trophies, and of which Mankind speaks in Your Praise, that both Your Majest, and Your Ancestors, have always been the Champions of Liberty, and the Great Defenders and Protectors of the Protestant Religion.

As such this whole Nation made their Addresses to You, when they stood in need of a Deliverer from their Encroach-

ments of Popish Powers and Councils.

As such, they received Your Majesty in the room of those who chose rather to desert them, than to see them a Fru Protestant People; and as such, they committed to Your Majesty's Government and Protestion, the Safety of their Religion and Liberties, which by Your Assistance they had recovered from the Invasions of Popery; and as such, the Author of these Sheets humbly Addresses them to Your Majesty.

The Protestant Religion seems to stretch forth her Hands to Your Majesty, as to her Constant Protector; You may view her in a posture of Trembling at the Formidable Prospect of her encreasing Enemies, and pointing to the Confederacies that

are making against ber.

Providence, and the Crown You wear, claims Your Ma-

jesty's Concern for the Defence of Religion.

The Peace of Europe; the Preservation of Trade; the Leagues and Alliances made by Reasons of State, and for Interests of Government, are Things of Consequence to Kings and Nations, and Your Majesty is justly concern'd about them.

The Liberties of this Nation, the Property of the Subject, the Encrease of Manufactures, and the Maintenance of the Poor, are Things worthy of Debates in the Great Council of

the Nation, the Parliament.

But these are all Antecedent to the Great Relative Religion; These are all but Circumstances to the Great Essential.

Circles drawn about the Great Center Religion.

Religion is, or ought to be, the Great Concern of Kings and Nations; Tis for this Kings Reign, and Parliaments Assemble; Laws are Enacted; Trade is carried on; Manufactures are Improved; Men Born, and the World made.

Tour Majesty is a proper Judge, whether the Danger of Religion in Europe, represented in these Sheets, be real, or not; and the Author freely Appeals to Your Majesty for the

Truth of it.

If it be real, God and the Protestant Religion calls a loud on Your Majesty, and the whole Nation; That laying a side the Debates of other meaner Affairs, the whole Strength and Soul of the Kingdom should be applied to, and concern about the Care and Preservation of that Inestimable Treasure.

Nor may the Trifles of Property and Prerogative, or any ing else, of how great Consequence soewer, have so much room in the solemn Consultations of the Nation, till this reat Affair is settled, and so secured, that the Power of Pory and Superstition may be incapable to burt it.

We know that the Almighty Power, from whom all Huan Strength is derived, is able to preserve the Protestant eligion; and that without either Your Majesty, or Your

arliaments Assistance.

bofe

Free

Ma.

ligi.

ver-

rof

nds

iew

7 of

bat

114.

the

In-

ngs

out

ett,

the of

elj.

al.

nts 13-

,

01

the

rtb n'd But as he always works by Means and Instruments, and is always own'd Your Majesty as an Instrument in his Hands this glorious Work; so Your Majesty is humbly desir'd to rethis glorious Work; so Your Majesty is humbly desir'd to rethis that it would be a singular Mark of Heaven's Displeasure, for want of a continued regard to the Security of that eligion which God has entrusted Your Majesty, and this sation with the Protection of, he should be oblig'd to re-assume the Special and Immediate Care of it himself, and take the York out of our Hands.

The Danger of the Protestant Religion, from the present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe.

PON the present strange Circumstances of Affairs in Europe, occasion'd by the Succession of Prince of France to the Crown of Spain, People are nightily concern'd, as their feveral Thoughts and Intests guide them.

Some, and reason good, apprehend England especialwill come under many Disadvantages with respect to rade, both in the Streights and in America, where the rench will always have Assistance from the Spanish Powto encroach upon our Trade, have the Preserence in their Ports and Markets; and several other thing

which I could enlarge on as well as another.

Some apprehend the Growth of the French Power at Sea, his Dangerous Neighbourhood, and his Encroaching Humour; which they give melancholy Instances of in all the late Wars, particularly in 1672; which 'tis needless here to repeat.

But I do not yet find any Concern express'd, or any Danger fear'd for the Protestant Religion: Methinks 'tis too certain a Token the Care of it does not lie next

our Hearts.

We are allarm'd at every step made by our Powerful Neighbours, to the detriment of our Politick Interest. We can see Dangers to our Trade and Shipping at the distance of an Age or two; form Leagues, whether right or wrong; commence Treaties, settle Alliances, and join in Confederacies and Guarranties, for the Prefervation of the Ballance of Power and Trade.

But fince Answering of Questions is become the Subject, and some are pleas'd to Answer them before they are ask'd, give a poor Pamphleteer (or Scibler, or any thing what you please to call him) leave to ask

one Question.

Where is the League or Alliance in Europe, made, a propos'd to be made for the Preservation and Desemble of Protestant Religion?

The Concern of Religion is not the meanest Article

in the Peace of Europe.

I am not going to Preach a Lecture of Divinity, to show the Value of Religion, and how near the Thoughts of it ought to lye upon our Minds; I would have to much Charity, as to believe every English Protestant has a just Concern for the Prosperity, as well as the Security of his Religion.

But possibly every Manthat does value his Religion, may not be sensible of the Danger it is in; and therefore it may not be amis to examine the State of the Protestant Religion, as it now stands in Europe; with

resped

respect to its own Power, and the Power of its Enc-

In order to which Scrutiny, 'tis necessary to go back a little to the Original of the present Settlement on

which we stand.

E

is

S

11

1

13

5,

ę.

b.

ey

10

sk

900

cle

to

hes

10

has

Cu-

00,

TC-

the

vith

ped

The Protestant Religion has been Profess'd in almost all the Dominions of Europe, Spain and Italy excepted, and in most of those Countries where it has obtain'd on the Inhabitants, it has been Establish'd by Leagues and Treaties; which Establishments have generally been the Estect of Bloody Wars; the Liberty the Protestants enjoy, has, next to God's Goodness, been the Purchase of the Sword, at the Price of the Blood and Treasure of the People.

For the better understanding the present Condition of the Protestants in Europe, I shall divide them into several Heads of Nations, and Discourse of them apart, bringing their short History down to the present Time.

First, the Princes of Germany: I place them first, because they were the first that stood up for the Desence of Religion; the Chief of these are the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, the Dukes of Brandenburgh, Saxony, and Lunenburgh, Hanover, Hess-Cassel, With a multitude of smaller Princes, States and Ciries.

These maintain'd a long and bloody War with the Emperor Charles the Fisth, who reduced them to low Circumstances; but by the Assistance of Henry the Second King of France, their Religion receiv'd the sirst Security by Treaty at the Peace of Passau, in the Year 1525, and was afterwards Establish'd at the Diet at Ausburgh, Anno 1555. But in the Year 1618, the War was renew'd again by the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, who, by the Hand of his old General Tilly, brought the whole Protestant Interest in Germany to the Brink of Ruin.

The Bohemians were ruined at the Battle of Progue; the Palatinate given to the Duke of Bavaria; the Circle of the Lower Saxony over-run by Tilly; and the King of Denmark, who headed the Protestants, overthrown

at the Battel of Kings Lutter, the Dukes of Mecklenburgh Pomeren, Bishopricks of Bremen and Halberstadt; the Countries of Silesia, Lusatia, and innumerable other seiz'd, and in the Emperor's Possession, and the Victorious Tilly trampled down Religion, with the Fury of

atrue Son of Rome.

The Protestants in this Distress, as we did lately hen in a like Case, fly to a Neighbouring Prince for Pro. tection. Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, a Kine who perhaps never had a Parallel till now, came w their Assistance with only Twelve Thousand Men; he Landed at Straelfundo; took all the Dutchies of Pomera and Mecklenburgh; fecur'd the Duke of Brandenburghs Country, and enters Saxony just as Tilly had resolv'do tuin it: Zilly meets him with an Army of Forty four Thousand old Soldiers, is overthrown, and his Troom entirely ruin'd at the Battle of Leipsick .--- God, whole Instrument this Gallant King more particularly was carried him on with fuch a prodigious Course of Vi ctory, that in two Years he over-run two third pans of the Empire; settled all the Protestant Princes free and uninterrupted in the Possession of their Libertis and Religion.

And though he lost his Life at the samous Battle of Lutzen, though his Party was afterwards basely for taken by the Duke of Saxony, who had been twice savid from Ruin by them; though the Swedes were routed at the Battle of Nordlengen, yet they carried the Waron with Success, 'till they reduc'd the Emperor to demand Peace, in which the Liberty and Religion of German was entirely settled on the Foot whereon it now stands. This is that samous Treaty of Westphalia, made in the Year 1648, and which the Protestants of the Palatinan now complain is broken; by this Peace care was taken, as it should be in all Leagues, of Religion such and of Property afterwards; the Liberty of the Protestant Religion in Germany has its being here, and the King of France and Sweden are Guarrantees of the

Treaty.

The next general Clause of Protestants in my account hall be the Hugonots of France; these had long struggled with saithless Kings, had vigorously supported themelves in Eight Civil Wars, under the conduct of Gastar Coligns Admiral of France, two Princes of Conde, and

he King of Navarre.

CIS

0-

of

10.

to he

res b's

10

luc

Ops

Ole

vas, Vi

arts

tics

of

for-

av'd

ited

101

and

nam inds.

the

s ta-

fire

P10-

the

the

The

The little Honour the Papifts shew'd them in their Treaties, and the many Surprizes and Massacres they met with when under the protection of the Publick Faith, kept the Sword always in their hand, till at laft Breach between Hen. the III. and the House of Guife. orced that Prince, though he had used them very ill before, to throw himself into their Hands for protection, but being stabb'd by James Clement a Jacobine Fryar, he fell a Sacrifice to the fury of the Guiler, and the Crown devolv'd to the King of Navar, Henry the IV. he Head of the Protestants; which King, though he thang'd his Religion to secure the Crown, yet so far he ook care of the Protestant Interest, as to secure them in he free exercise of their Religion by the famous Edica of Nants; which how it has been observ'd you shall hear presently.

Thefe being Sub-The Dutch are the next in course. ects of the King of Spain, but having embrac'd the Proestant Religion, were most cruelly treated by the seveal Governors fent from the Court of Madrid; and as Oppression is the first Motive to Complaint, they made heir frequent Application to the King of Spain for reress of their Grievances, who answer'd them as Rehooam did the Israelites; and to make his Words good, ent them Ferdinand de Toledo Duke d' Alva, for their povernor, who boafted that he had Executed Eighteen housand of them by the hand of the Hangman: Which loody Proceeding, together with the Approach of the panish inquisition, which he was resolved to introduce, rove the People to the last Extremity, viz. To use orce in the Defence of their Natural Rights, Lives nd Religion: A Doctrine, which however it may be tied down by our Modern Politicians, has obtain'd

upon

upon the whole World, and been more or less practifed

by all Nations at one time or other.

This War begun by the Prince of Orange, the famous Predecessor of our present King, was carried on with various success; and the Union of the Seven Province which we now call the States of Holland, was form'd headed and protected by him, till he was murther'd by Baltbazar Gerrard, at the procurement of the Spaniard, being shot with two Bullets through the body, as he was going from Dinner into a with drawing Room in his Palace at Delft.

His Successor Prince Maurice carried on the Warwin better success for almost Forty Years, and at last reduced the Spanish Power so low, that they rather sued for Peace than granted it; which Peace was the known Treaty of Munster; at which the Spaniard renounc'd the Sovereign ty of the United Provinces, and declar'd them a Fin

State, as they are this day.

England, Scotland and Ireland, is another Class: The Reformation obtain'd here with less difficulty, and he continued from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, without such Opposition and Interruption as it met with broad.

Let us now consider these Four Classes, under One General Head of Confederacy, as they were engaged in the late War, and we shall presently put the whole in the general Ballance, by which the meanest Understanding may make a judgment what is like to be the Condition

of the Protestant Interest in Europe.

Almost all the Protestants of Europe, the Two Northme Crowns who stood neuter excepted, were unanimously consederated in the last War against the Power of France; and though the Emperor and Spaniard, guided by Reasons of State, join'd with them, tis plain to all the World what dissipation the Consederates had, what Blood, what Treasure was expended, to reduce the French to the Terms of an Honourable Peace.

If we re-examine the Present State of Europe, we said it, as to the Interest of Religion, in worse Circum stance

tild

nou

With

nca

m'd

1 by

ardi,

n his

Win

uced

eace

ty of

ign

Free

The has

vith-

tha

One

edin

n the

ding

tion

then

ouly

ance;

Rea-

7 ork

what

o the

fhall

cum

ance

nces on several Accounts, than it ever yet was since.

e Treaties of Munster and Westphalia.

First, The Saxon, one of the most Considerable Prins of Germany, and formerly the great Barrier of the
steftant Religion on that side, is to be counted lost,
eir Duke turn'd Papist to get a Crown hardly worth
reping; a close Consederate with the Emperor, and
pendant upon him for his support in his new gotten
ingdom.

The Electorate, though it remains Protestant, is begard and exhausted to maintain their Prince in his New hrone; their Forces absent, and which is worse, alady employ'd in an Unjust and Dishonourable War ith a Protestant Prince, in desiance of Leagues unbron, and begun on frivolous pitiful Pretences, and like be carried on to the ruin of its Author.

The Palatinate, another Protestant Electorate, by the accession of the House of Newburgh is fallen into the ands of the Papists, and now in the Power of a Prince, ho in considence of a support from the Emperor his other-in-Law, is making the first open Infractions to the Treaty of Westphalia, and persecutes his Protesms Subjects with all the rigor and cruelty of a Bigot-dPrince, who thinks he thereby does God good serce, and expects to be well paid for it.

The Protestants of Bobemia and Hungary are both reote, and both absolutely crush'd under the weight of e Imperial Rigor.

The Protestants of France, who I rank'd in the second als, and were once a powerful Branch, are quited, sunk and gone; either supprest and driven to Powat home, in defiance of the Edict of Nants; or like Ten Tribes of Israel, scatter'd abroad into so many known Countries, that they have lost themselves, and one Age more will be quite sunk out of Name and emory.

England was at the Brink of Ruin, and the Foundan of the Protestant Religion stood absolutely under n'd, the Devil like Guy Fan's, in the Gunpowder.

Plot, standing with the Dark Lanthorn and Match in Hand, till the People took such a Fright, as put the Nation into Fits, of which they could never be cur'd they had spew'd our that Generation of Vipers, the would have betray'd their Religion to the Pope, a

their Country to the French.

God, and the Prince of Orange, the one as Author, other as Instrument, help'd us out; and, I say, with stattery, No Man can have a Sense of the Goodness the First, and have no Gratitude for the Good-will the Last: And 'tis a just Cause of Wonder to constitute the Last: And 'tis a just Cause of Wonder to constitute the fort of Protestants they are, who have forgot to condition the Protestant Religion was in at the first on ing over of our present King, and I would be glad hear a facobite Protestant, if such a Heterogeneous the can be, answer me this Question.

How any English Protestant, without mortgagings Senses and Religion, can so much as wisheither that the James should have continued King, or should return be King in the same Temper, Power, and other sumstances, as he was in when his present Majesty was

invited over?

Thus we fee feveral confiderable Branches of the B

testant Power quite Lost.

The Swede, who is one of the most Potent Princes. Europe, in the part of the World where he is particularly useful, we find his Hands full with two faith Neighbours, and slame of a War broke out, which if he be not timely assisted, may burn him out of a

TH

or

th

Q

many.

He is a young King, though by what appears, like to come behind none of his most Glorious Ancesto and we have seen one Snare laid for him already, whi if the English and Dutch had not united, would have trangl'd him sufficiently: however, as he is, there to but small help be obtain'd from him, for the gent safety of the Protestant Religion, who is now suing the Courts of his Allies for Aid against the Pole and Muscowite.

(233)

It were to be wish'd the Protestants of England would ree to give such speedy and powerful assurance to the vede in this Juncture, as may effectually free him from the his Assailants, and put him into a posture to enter to a general Alliance for the desence of Religion, if ere should be occasion.

Whether the Business of making the Elector of Branburgh King of Prussia, and the Duke of Hannover Etor of Brunswick, may not cool the Zeal of those Prins, in favour of the Emperor, I shall not determine. Upon the whole it appears, that the whole strength the Protestant Power in Europe, lies now upon the glish and Datch, and the German Princes in the Circles

Suabia, and the Lower Saxony.

I shall next examine the growth and power of Popers, hich plac'd in a just Balance with the rest, will need to short Inference to shew any rational Man the disoportion of Power that lies between them.

The Popish Powers of Europe are as follow:

The French; a whole and entire Monarchy, undivided home, and free from the incumbrance of Protestants nong them, who had several times in former Wars eier byas'd their Power in savour of the Protestants, as the Reign of Henry the II. or diverted their Designs Civil Wars at home, as in the Days of Lewisthe XIII. It the present King of France having not broken the list of Nants only, but abolished it, has entirely broke Body of the Hugonet Party, and rooted the very name it out of his Kingdom; so that the Franch Power be-

ing

ing altogether Popish, and united under the greatesks. France ever saw, may justly stand foremost as the F

Champion of Popery in Europe.

I shall not enlarge here on the formidable Power France, how he has shewn himself a Match for the gottest part of Europe; nor upon the zeal and siery rage the French King against the Protestant Religion; the are things so known in Europe, that it is needless to any thing to our Apprehensions that way. Let French Protestants, who are scatter dover the Face of Christendom, be a daily Memorandum to us on the Head.

The Emperor, though he be the first Prince in Em I place next to the French, because I think him so thing inferiour in power to France, at this time especial in the Circumstances we now are treating of, disjoint from the Protestant part of the Empire.

By the Emperor here we are understand to the Em ror, and the Popish part of the Empire, which may in

be enumerated.

The Emperor, the King of Hungary, and Bohemia, the Elector Duke of Bavaria, a warlike and powerful Print and always a Champion of Popery; the Elector Palas the Electors of Mentz, Trier and Cologn, with the Bill of Munster, and some small Popish Princes of the Elector.

The Third Head of Power on the Popish side is speniards, under which Name I comprehend all these ces and Powers of Italy, with the Pope the Grand Important of Antichrist, the Duke of Savor, the King of Ports

and the Provinces of Flanders.

I have purposely omitted here the Swiss and College because being some Popish, some Protestant, and in out of the way, they can neither add nor diminishing case in hand, but will be hired on both sides, as the ties find occasion for them, or can spare Money to for them.

the Powers on one fide and the other; those who

d

uainted but in a tolerable measure with the present te of Europe, must be convinc'd of this just conseence, That there is no manner of Comparison to be de.

But fince our Saviour directs those who go out to ar, to consider whether they are able with their 10000 Encounter the 20000 of their Enemies, let us recolt the Debate, and consider the Case, if it were now

ming to a War.

ł Ki

e F

ver

ige |

; th

0 2

et f

of

2 1

fon Cial

oint

Emp y th

ia, d

lati

Bill

is t

Pri

1112

神 河点山

ell

OP

I'll allow that the Protestants on every side were sirmleagu'd together by their own Interest for their genepreservation; and that all private Divisions, petty sputes and Quarrels among themselves were at least d aside for the present, till the Common Danger was er; which if it be not true, I wish it were.

I must suppose also that which I think there is too ich reason to sear, that the Popish Powers before menn'd, whether ally'd or no, should join in a common sign to suppress their Protestant Neighbours; and wheer jointly or separately it matters not much, shou'd fall on those which lay next them,

Having rang'd the Powers of either Party, 'tis necestytodeclare the posture of such a War, in case it should

er come to pass.

If ever the Popish Powers of Europe should enter ina Confederacy to attack the Protestants, it would be

The Dutch would be fallen upon by the French on one le; and the Spanish Netherlands being in the hands of a Papists, the Barrier of Flanders is lost, by which cans the War is brought home to their own Doors, at the first Shock must fall on their Frontiers, where ey must defend themselves against the Spaniards on eside of Sluice, Bergen Op Zoom, Breda, and the Bosch, sainst the French on the Maes and the Rhine, from saestricht to Nimiguen, and against the Munsterians on the Frontiers of Groninghen to the side of Embden and the Sea.

Nor

Nor wou'd their Fleet stand them in any stead, to War wou'd be all by Land: They must maintain The Royal Armies at least to keep the Field, or their Enem will break into their Country, and make them maintain

both Armies in a place.

The Duteb are not insensible of the Truth of this, may be plainly prov'd by the Care and vast Expension they have been at to protect Flanders in all the last Was from which all the benefit they have propos'd to the selves, has been the maintaining a good Barrier between Them and France, and thereby keeping the War from their own Country.

The German War will, in all probability, be on the Banks of the Elb, the Oder, and the Main: The Properties the Countries lie from the Oder to the Rhine, and contain the whole Circles of the Upper and the Low Saxony, and a small part of the Circles of Westphila

Franconia and Suabia.

But the Weight of the War on the Protestants malie on the Elb and the Main: On the Elb the Imperially will have their main Forces to Attack the Duke a Brandenburg's, and the Princes of the House of Lunenburg and on the Main, the Hessian, with the Princes of the Lower Saxony, will be Attack'd by the Duke of Bavanathe Prince Palatine, and the Electors of Treves, Manual Cologn; backt still by the Emperor, the French at the Spaniards.

The Swedes and Brandenburghers will again have the Emperor on their backs upon the Oder, with the Plantenburghers will again have the

to affift him.

Here, if ever such a Time shall happen, the War we be very bloody; and were not the French to join on the Banks of the Main, perhaps the Emperor might have his hands sull: But a French Army to fall in among the Princes of the Circles of Franconia and Westphalia, is Nothing but the Angel of God in the Army of Senached Article not to be consider'd without giving up the Cause can prevent their Total Destruction.

I foresee I shall be attackt by a fort of Men, who are arrying on Defigns of their own, and think every an aims at them with Arguments like thefe.

1. This is Discovering the Weakn is of the Proteants, and leading their Enemies by the Hand to deoy them; betraying our Friends, or exposing them.

2. This is frightning the World with Chimera's of our wn Brain, which perhaps may never come to pass. angers as likely, as that the Turks may Over run Chriendom, and Extirprate the whole Christian Religion: hings to come to pass, when the Sky shall fall.

3. This is another Shift to bring England to a Neessity of a Standing-Army, which some People mighly want, to subject her Liberty to the Arbitrary De-

gns of her Enemies.

emi

inta

is,

pen Wa

then

Wee

from

n d

ron

COA

OW

For the First I answer: 'Tis no Discovery at all; and hey that will make fuch an Objection, must suppose he Popish Princes of Europe very dull, if they do not now it as well as we.

But to make my Answer as short as the Question; They who please to inform themselves, will find that n the several Audiences of the French Ambassadors at Rome, his Holiness gave the most Christian King seveal Exhortations to restore Peace to the Church; which we find explain'd at Paris in the Speeches made to the King of France by the Pope's Nuncio, where he Exforts him again to Peace with the Spaniards, that their United Arms might be employ'd in the Extinpation of Herefie.

If I should need Arguments to convince Men, that the French know as well as we the Power of the Protetant Princes, I could refer them to a late French Pamphet, printed at Paris, and Reprinted at Rome, Entituled, La Crusade, which laments the Catholick Princes tearing out the Bowels of their Mother the Church; and Exhorts them very paffionately to employ their Victorious Arms to the Extirpation of Herefie, and the De-Gruction

firuction of the Enemies of God, and the Blessed Va

2. As to the Improbability of the matter, and its be

ing a Chimera, oc.

First, Gentlemen, it is no such improbable thingnesther; for what has been, may be. Charles the Fish undertook it single-handed against all the Protestants in his time; and though the French opposed him, he was a great Way with the Work; for he reduc'd them to such low Terms, that had not the Treaty at Passau be obtain'd by the Power of France, the Protestant Religion had been totally suppress'd in Germany.

Secondly, The French have absolutely Effected it is on one of the most Considerable Branches of Protestant and thereby shown us a Test of their Good will to be whole, and given an Instance of the possibility of the

practice.

Thirdly, The Protestant Power was never in weak Circumstances, nor the Popish in stronger, if they should but Unite: So that I must own, if they do not attempt, they slip a manifest Opportunity, and must be conted Fools too; which, by the way, we never some them to be.

3. As to England, Standing-Armies, Liberty, And trary Power, and the like, I must crave leave to say little. I have no mind to meddle with the Disputed Politicians, nor know nothing of those who have be signs either way.

They that would Enflave our Liberty by Standing Armies; and they that would leave us naked to our Enemies; or put us out of a Posture to help our Friends are equally Enemies to the Protestant Religion.

They that would make our Kings out of Love with their Protestant Subjects, or our People jealous of a Protestant King, are Beautefeus of their Native County and want to see her again involved in Blood, that he may not be able to protect or defend the Protestant Religion.

They who would advance the Prerogative of Kings, the ruin of the Subjects Properties; and they who buld subdue the English Monarchy, and the Just Power the King, to the Will and Pleasure of a Party, equally ive at the Destruction of our Constitution, and in that the Protestant Religion.

Tis not Arbitrary Power which is the present Case, or Standing Armies, nor Liberty, nor Property, but the Protestant Religion. Let England have a care she oes not take so much Care of her Liberties, as to forest her Religion: But let us see the one done, as not to

ave the other undone.

In Reading some late Pamphlets Pro and Con about he Danger of Trade, and the Power of our Enemies, I bserve some are for maintaining Confederacies with oreign States, and Alliances with Neighbours, and some

re against it.

ed Vi

its be

ngne

fch un

ants i

e wer

em i

u bee

Relig

it up

Mann

to the

of the

veake

(hould

temp

COU

found

Arbi-

favi

ites a

e De

ding

00

iend

Win Pro

intr

t fix

t Re-

The

Truly, Gentlemen, in the Case I am Treating, I cank all the Powers of Europe into two Classes only, copish and Protestant: And we are supposing the Popish cowers should link themselves together in a Consederaty for the Extirpation of Protestants, whom they call Hereticks, let any Rational Man make the Consequence: What should Protestants do? Can any humane Methods preserve them, but a strict Union among themselves to oin in their mutual Desence?

I know better than to reflect on Parliaments: But if Parliament of Protestants forgets the safety of the Proestant Religion, they neglect the chief Work they as-

emble about.

Trade, Liberty, Property, Right and Wrong, Justice and Equity, are Things the convocated Assemblies of the People are call'd together about; and they are in the Right: But these are but the subservient Preliminaries to preserve a State or Country in Peace, that they may with their joint Force resolve, and be able to defend and secure their Religion.

The Protestant Religion is the Fundamental of the English Conditution; and I hardly ever remember the

Affem-

Assembling a Parliament in England, but they had the Grand Committee for Religion. What those Committees have done of late towards the propagating, or securing Religion, is best known to them who can search the Journals of the House, nor is it proper for men examine.

I am not for prescribing Methods how the Protestant Religion is to be defended; but I crave leave to give some Hints from the present Circumstances of Affairs, awaken Protestants, that they may see their Religion is aim'd at by the Popish Powers of Europe; a weak Politician may foresee, That if ever a Union should happen between the French, Spaniards and Germans, all the Protestants of Europe, except us, are lost and undone, unless some wonderful Revolution, which a wifer Head that mine cannot foretel, should happen.

Wherefore I desire only of Parliaments, of Protestant and Kings, that they would condescend so far, as to take the poor distressed Protestant Religion into their Care. Let it be by such Ways and Means, as to their Honour in this Great Wisdom shall seem meet. If it may be done without Standing-Armies, or Confederacies abroad, with all out Hearts: If the Wall of Fericho will fall down at the Sounding of Rams-horn, never let us raise Batteries, of

plant Cannon against them.

Here is no room to talk of Pretences and Shooing horns for Standing-Armies; God, and the Protestant Religion, calls upon all the Professors of it in Europe wo look to themselves, and to stand up for the City of wo God: And if the Enemies of the Church of Christian A Confederacy, they are to give the Curse of God on all those who shall refuse to help the Lord against the Mighty.

In this Case a War of Religion will require us to la aside all our ill-natur'd Animosities: Here is no Foreigners, no Resugees, no Dutch-men; 'Tis a Protestant, is the general Term; as in two Armies that are to Engage where one Party wears a White, and the other a Green Signal in their Hats, they do not enquire what Nation

y Man is of; but if any of the White Party meets a ldier with the Green in his Hat, Down with him; if ey see another with the White in his Hat in Distress,

elieve him, is the word.

In this Cause of Religion, Gentlemen, if the Swede, the Dane, or the most remote Nation be Attackt, we enly to examine if the Protestant Religion be his Sigal; if so, we ought to help and relieve them, let them e what Nation or People soever; and let Natural and olitical Aversions be never so great, if our Enemy's louse be on Fire, we'll endeavour to put it out, if it be or nothing else but for fear it should burn our own: When the Protestants in any part of Europe are Attackt, Proximus Ardet; let us consider, if ever the Fire of Poerly consumes the Protestant Powers of Europe, the lame will certainly catch hold of us in England.

Some Gentlemen have said lately, That Confederacies nd Alliances never are of any Advantage to England, ecause we live by our selves in an Island, and have a

good Fleet.

Ishall not examine whether what they say will hold in Matters of Policy and Government: But, Gentlemen, et me tell you, if the English Nation should see the Rest of the Protestants of Europe destroy'd, without helping them, even with all her Forces upon this principle, That we are safe having a good Fleet; should we not expect besides all the other satal ill Consequences, our Saviour hould rank us among those, who when he was an bungry, gave him no meat; or when he was in Distress gave him no help, which is all one.

But because I would a little prescribe in the Case too, and come to Answering Questions as well as other Peo-

ple, I shall enquire, What England ought to do?

I Answer, Principies obsta; prevent the Conjunction of Popish Powers; crush the Leagues and Confederacies of Popish Princes in the beginnings of them, and by all possible Methods keep them from such a Union as is here supposed to be aim'd at.

This is the way to take away the Cause, that the Elect may vanish: This takes away all shadow of designing a Standing-Army; there will be no occasion to Fight: divide but the Interests of the Popish Powers of Europe; if you can do so, you certainly divide their Forces.

The late War is a certain Demonstration that then will never unite against Religion, if they cannot unite their Interests. Whoever gives themselves leave to exa mine, will plainly see'tis Interest, not Religion governs Princes. I refer for it to the Answer the Emperor gave to King James when he demanded Affistance of him against King William. When having told King James, "That if he had rather hearkened to his friendly Re " monstrances, made him by the Imperial Ambassador the Count de Kaunitz, than the deceitful Infinuation of the French; and if he had put a stop by Force 10 " the many Breaches made by the French in the Treaty " at Nimeguen, of which he was Guarrantee, and had " entred into Consultations with the Imperial Coun, " and their Confederates, he might have quieted the Minds of his People; and then enumerating the Cruelties of the French, chiefly in the Catholick Countries, exceeding the Turks themselves; the Emperor concludes. " That the Interest and Safety of the Empire " is a sufficient Argument to justifie his not assisting him " on account of the Popish Religion against the Protestant, "having a Papist to Encounter with, who on account " of Interest and publick Safety, ought in the first Place "to be opposed; and that for mutual Preservation " and Defence he must be justified in taking Measure, " with all those, maning the Protestants, who are con " cern'd in the fame Delign.

Thus we see when joint Interest and Preservation the Case, even the Popish Princes themselves think in justifiable to join in Confederacies, even with Heretick to suppress an unjust Invasion of an encroaching Neighbor.

bour, though a Catholick.

From whence I draw this short Consequence.

That if you keep the Popish Powers of Europe from Uniting their Interests, you, in effect, keep them from Initing their Forces, and thereby from Invading the

Protestant Religion.

5 0 neir

hen

nile

X2.

ins

ave

nim

mes,

Re:

dor

Ons

10

aty

nad

urt.

the

ru-

111-TOT

oire

1111

nts.

unt

ace

101

res,

:011.

n is

(i

icks

gh

(011)

By preventing the Union of the Popish Powers, possibly some may suppose, I mean, that England should Enrage in a New War with France, to support the Title of he Arch-Duke Charles to the Crown of Spain; and here comes in the Old Story, a Standing Army, again by head and Shoulders.

Why truly, Gentlemen, If ever we pretend to have a War, whether it be with France, or any Body elfe, we must certainly have an Army of our own, or some Bo-

dies else, or we shall make but forry Work on't.

Whether those Gentlemen would not chuse to see the Protestant Religion in Europe funk and lost, rather than see an Army raised in England, I cannot conclude? But this I am bold to affirm, That they who had rather run the Rifque of the Protestant Religion, than of their Liberties, value their Freedom above their Religion, and may very well be suspected to have no Religion at

Now the Rifque is not equal neither; for we have had Armies in England, and have lost our Liberties; and we have had Armies in England, and have not lost our Liberties. The Difference lies here, That we had Armies rais'd to Enflave us, and they did it; but the last were raised to defend us; and when that was done, submitted the Military to the Civil Power, and left our I would fay also, but that I shall of-Liberties intire. fend some Folks, That the Grand Difference lay in the Kings we had.

Some of our Kings defign'd our ruin, and, in a great Measure, compleated it by Standing-Armies; but a Kingthat protects the Laws by a Principle of Honour and Justice, can make Armies that are so fatal to Liberty, be the protection of Liberty: So that really it has been our Kings of pious Memory, who have been Agents of

the

the People's Ruin; and the late War has shown the World, that Armies may be rais'd and laid down again if Kings, who command them, please but to say the Word, without ruining a Nation's Liberty.

On the other Hand; if Religion be attackt, it mul

be defended, or 'twill be loft.

Thus far I have ventur'd to touch the nice Article of an Army in England; I hope every Englishman will agree with me in this, That I had rather see an Army in England, and run the hazard of our Liberties, than see the Protestant Religion in Europe trodden down for want of our helping to defend it.

But these are general Points only.

There are a great many Methods to be prescrib'd how the Protestant Religion may be desended, and yet no standing Forces rais'd or maintain'd in England, and so our Liberties may not be in danger; and the first is touch'd at already, prevent the Union of Popish Powers

and Interest, and you'll need no fighting:

Whether this may be done by giving powerful Allflance to the Emperor, to carry on the Pretentions of
the House of Austria; or by appearing in the Medituranean with a good Fleet, to confirm the Italian Princes
in the Interests of the Emperor; or by sending over
what forces we have in England and Ireland, to make a
Diversion in Conjunction with the Dutch on the Rhim,
or in Flanders, or by what other Ways and Means it may
be done, with, or without an Army, 'tis all one, so it be
but done, that the Protestant Religion may be protected,
and the Papists prevented from overturning us with a
general Destruction.

But that no Man may have any shadow to suspect me guilty of a Design to Argue for a Standing-Army, which is the great Bugbear of the Times, or at least made the Watch-word of a Party that would be thought to me more Zealous for our Liberty than any Body else; I'll put it on another Point: Our Neighbours may be satisfied by our Money, as never to want our Men; and so, Gentlemen, you will be try'd whether 'tis you Liberty

liberty, or your Money, that so much stir has been made about; and if we shall let our Protestant Neighbours sink, rather than part with our Money to support them; then the Truth will come out, That 'tis our Money which was at the bottom of the matter: For really, Religion and Liberty are so much in the same Interest, that 'tis very seldom they Clash; and he that shall resuse to defend his Religion for sear of his Liberty, deserves to sofe both.

Thus we are got over the Point, that our Neighbours may be supported, the Protestant Religion defended, and the Union of the Popish Powers of Europe prevented by the Protestants at this time falling in, to support the Emperor in his just Pretensions on the Spanish Dominions; and all this without a Standing Army in

England.

in,

he

uf

ee

igo the

of

no

nd

is

rs

of

27.

er

ne,

av

be

d,

2

116

he

ne

11

0

ty ty

Our Pamphleteers need not dispute about the Confiftency or Inconfiftency of an Army with the English Constitution, nor whether they that are for, or against it, are the best Subjects: I am sure he that has the grearest Concern for the Protestant Religion, is most likely to be the best Christian; They need not entertain us with their Discourses of the Danger of our Liberties and Properties from a Standing-Army, with their little Reflections on the King, by way of Exclamations against the sad Consequences which may happen, or may not happen; They need not enter into the Histories of Standing-Armies, nor tell us the Wonderful Power of our most Formidable Militia: But the Case will be alter'd when your Protestant Brethren call for Assistance, if you are afraid to trust Arms in the Hands of your own Country-men: As truly English-men are dangerous Fellows when in Arms, very surely, and lath to be Disbanded without their Pay. If therefore we do not think it safe to Trust our own People, never let us desert the Protest ant Cause; for Germany and Swifferland are Inexhaustible Store-houses of Men: If you will but assist the Protestants with Money, 'twill be the same thing;

or if we will assist the Emperor at this time, it may be the same thing; for Prevention is all one as Execution, a

rather the better of the two.

And this leads us to consider what, with submission to better Judgments, seems to me to be the only possible Means to prevent the Union between the possible Means and Europe, and therein the Ruin of the Protestants.

I have said already, Our way is to Crush the Confederacies of the Papists; and if I do say, that the only way to do so, is to prevent the Crown of Spain descending by Will to a Prince of the House of Bourbon; and that Prince marrying a Daughter of the House of Assirta, I shall believe I am in the Right, till I can hear better Method propos'd.

n

10

f

er

hin

ion

dly

A.

lv

at !

tc

Ca

leli

h:

n S

and

chy

un

This Union is much easier prevented than it will he dissolved; Treaties and Alliances may disappoint a Now, whereas Armies and Fleets will hardly deseat afterwards, if the House of Bourbon and Austria Unit, and conform the Interests of their Dominions, they a have no Body to bend their Arms against, but the Pro-

testants, or the Mahometans.

I see no War can be rais'd in Europe, but what will of Course, run into a War of Religion: For if the Pop Princes agree in Interests, they can have nothing a quarrel about: And to confirm this, I appeal to a service of the general History of Europe: In which I defer to make it appear, That setting aside the Quarrel between the Feench and the Spaniards, and between the English and the Dutch, almost all the Wars of Europe has been Wars of Religion.

And that I may not be thought to speak without

book, I refer the Reader to Examine.

1. The Wars in Germany, which, with some few he termissions, lasted from the Year 1508, to 1648, he ing 140 Years; and begun on pretence of recovering the Lands of the Church, sequester'd by the Duket Saxony, and ended by the Conquests of King Gustavus and his Generals, at the Treaty of Westphalia;

which War, that great Conquering King lost his Life, and confirm'd what I am saying in his last Words, which ome Histories tells us were thus: Being wounded with a Carabin shot, and asked by a German Trooper tho he was, Answer'd, I am the King of Sweden, who seal the Religion and Liberty of the German Nation

2. The Wars in the Low Countries begun with the anish Inquisition being Introduc'd into the Netherals, and continued to the Peace of Munster, with the termission of twelve Years Truce only, and ended in e Liberty of the Protestant States, being declar'd free the King of Spain; Which War Philip II. of Spain dear'd a little before his Death, had cost him 564 Mil-

Milions.

OU

19 8 19

ce d

3. The Civil Wars of France, which began in the ign of Henry II. and eight several times engag'd the hole Kingdom; and after that was carried on by mry IV. against the Guises, and the League back'd by whole Power of Spain, on account of Religion, I never had any long Cessation till the Edict of Nants, I the Peace of Vervins.

ns of Ducats, and the Expedition to Invade England

I forbear to instance any more, being unwilling to er into the Miseries of our Native Country; but hink the Matter admits of no dispute. That if the ion we speak of should ever come to pass, there dly can commence any War in Europe, but what it be upon the account of Religion. Europe has ly nothing else to quarrel about, or nothing but at Neighbours and Guarrantees can oblige one anotto decide without a Rupture, as lately it was in Case of the Dane, and the Duke of Holstein.

have been fought? How has Europe been fill'd a Slaughter between those powerful Princes Charles and Francis I. for the Kingdom of Naples, for the chy of Savoy and Millan, and for the Frontiers of

undy and Flanders?

What

What incredible Expences, and how many heaps of flaughter'd Carcasses has the Quarrels between the French and Imperalifts cost on the Banks of the Rhine and the Mosselle, and between the French and the Sta. niards, in our Age, in Catalonia and Flanders? Thefe have been the Capital Wars of Europe; and if the U. nion between France and Spain be compleated, the Cause is remov'd, and the Effects cease of Course There can be no War in this part of the World bu what must engage the Protestants, unless the Protestant should fall out among themselves; which would be worse still. Hitherto the Wars between the Popil Powers has been the Safety of the Protestant; if one potent Prince has Attack'd them, the Jealoufy of another has Defended them. The Protestants have from the very beginning been shelter'd and protected, only by the Animolities and Jealousies maintain'd between the French, and the House of Austria.

I cannot liken the Protestants of Europe to any thing more aptly than to the City of Hamburgh, between the Danes and the Dukes of Brandenburgh and Lumburgh; or to the Duke of Savoy's Dominions, between

the Spaniards, French and Italians.

If the City of Hamburgh had had but one of those Neighbours, it had either been no City at all, or this City long ago; but the Jealousy and Misunderstanding of those Princes is the Security of the Hamburgers.

nexed the Dutchy of Savoy to their Estates, had to one been but willing to sit still, and let the other es

10y it.

in the Empire, if Henry II. of France had not uphe them; and that not from any Kindness he had to them but that he was not easie to see the Emperor belonger. Afterward the Emperor himself encourage the Protestants of France, and suffer'd Men to be Level ed in the Empire for the King of Navarr; lest he was ing quite suppress'd, the French should be at leisures.

A all

owers of France and Germany, have been the Security

f the Protestant Religion in Europe.

of

the

spa-

U.

the

rle:

but

ants

be

pis

one

the

the

y by

the

hing

Neen

unen

Need

hole

t beit

ding

0 21

d th

r en

Gant

phe

them

be I

1128

Levy

ie D

urel

uall

Since that, in our Memory, the Emperor and King, of Spain, both Papists, Declar'd War against France, and form'd the Tripple Alliance only to save the Protestant tates of Holland from falling into the Hands of the rench, Anno 1672, when our Protestant King Charles I. of Pious Memory, did his utmost to overthrow hem, and subject them to an absolute French Conuest.

If any Man shall be so weak as to reply in the Lanuage of some late Pamphlets, What's all this to us? What es the Union of Spain and Germany, or of any body else, missing to us? I crave leave to Answer such a Questin, by saying as our Savoiur to the Pharisees, And I so will ask you a Question.

What signifies the Protestant Religion to us? And if sey will undertake to Answer the Last, I will promise

Answer the First.

I might go on here to give Instances how near the totestant Religion has been to be suppress'd in Engnd, and what a just Concern other Nations have al-

ays had for its Preservation.

But setting that aside, for we do not love to hear of I desire only to re-mind the Reader, That the Parlments of England, together with our Protestantings and Queens, have always express'd deep Resentants at the danger of the Protestant Religion, and of it Protestant Neighbours; and have always thought became them by Treaties and Intercessions to procure eir Repose, or by Money and Forces to assist them to send themselves.

And after giving some Instances, I shall examine the assons of it, and see if the same Reasons do not now

lon us for the fame Proceedings.

Queen Elizabeth, after the had provided for the Safeof Religion at Home, her next Care was to allift Protestant Neighbours. What valt Sums of Money did she Give and Lend; what Number of Trond did she Raise to support the Hugonots in France, and Prince Maurice in the Netherlands, even before she had any actual War with the Spaniards? The Historiese those Times reckon up above 80000 English Soldies including Volunteers, that fought during that low War, in the Quarrel of the Protestant Religion in the Low Countries; where they behav'd themselves so well and gain'd such Reputation, that Forty Years after wards, when our Civil Wars broke out in England, a Old Low Country Soldier was always counted a Mand Value.

Queen Elizabeth sent, at several times, 40000 Ma to the Assistance of the French Hugonots under Hun ra

of

I

h

I

rt

K

ry

K

e

e

V

eli

vi

:57

CC R

If-

00

K

the Fourth.

After the Death of Queen Elizabeth, King Jame the First, though he had not Courage enough to break with Spain in the just Quarrel of the Pallgram King of Bohemia; yet we find the English Nation and Parliament all along Resenting not so much the houry of that Family, as the Ruin of the Protestants in the Palatinate; and several Bodies of Men were sent over to Count Mansfield to defend it; though by the Crast of the Spaniard that Scotish King was Cajol'd in an easy deserting the Cause, both of the Prorestant Religion, and his own Family.

In the Reign of King Charles the First, what values of Money were given by the Parliament to all the Protestants of Rochelle, which though by the Milapplication of the Court, and the Duke of Buckingham did them little Service; yet 'tis plain by it, that the Parliament knew the Protestion of our Protestant Neighbours was a Work the whole Nation had a just Concern in, both on Civil as well as Religious Accounts.

After this you have 6000 Men at a time twice railed belides Recruits, and fent by Sea as far as Pomerania, a shift the King of Sweden in the Quarrel of the Protections in Germany.

In the Year 1679, the Parliament of England Adress'd King Charles the Second, to enter into such eagues and Alliances with our Protestant Neighburs, as might effectually preserve Flanders from falling into the Hands of the French; and I refer to the lords of that Address, where you have the whole cople of England Remonstrating of what Consequence the Preservation of Flanders was to the English ation; and which stands as an Invincible Argument gainst our Modern Politicians, who are for no Leagues or Consederacies, nor Neighbours, and think English and a Match for all the World.

These seem to be Instances enough, and 'tis matter sounder to me, what sort of Amphibious, Neual Creatures those Protestants are, which shall ask hat signifies the Protestants abroad to England? Supposing there was no real Danger of our selves in the

afe.

en one the left ter

10

enny

equal and

and

In-

fent

into

Re

val

affil

Viil

415

the

igh

00

S.

ica

a, 10 Pro Let us examine, in the next place, the Reasons hich have all along induc'd the English Nation to lift their Protestant Neighbours; and they are of two rts.

Reasons of Religion, and Reasons of State: And I'll be ry short with them both, because they are touch'd

already.

Reasons of Religion, are, such as Charity, which obliges estrong to Protect and Defend the Weak, when they e Oppress'd and Injur'd, and unable to defend themles: The several Commands of our Saviour, for the slief of such as are in Distress, Illustrated by the Storof the Good Samaritan, the Declaration which our viour has made, That whatsoever is done to the story of his, is done unto himself, and shall be Rewarded cordingly, and the like.

Reason of State are principally the Great Doctrine of structure of state are principally the Great Doctrine of structure, which branches it self in such Me.

ods as thefe.

Keeping Danger at a distance,

Keeping a good Barrier between our felves and Powerful Neighbours, that you may not be forced to a Defensive War.

Preventing the Union of Neighbours, of different

adly. Preferving publick Peace, which is best done by strong Alliances and Guarrantees:

By keeping an Equality of Parties, or a General Ballance of Power:

And by being always in such a posture of Deseng as to make it dangerous for a Neighbour of break with you.

These, with many others, are the Reasons why our Princes, and our Parliaments too, have always though it both their Duty and their Interests to Protest and Defend the Protestant Religion abroad, and have a ways been very tender of the Injuries done them by the Popish Adversaries, and resented them according

I shall give one Instance more: I hope the Reasons
State will not be lik'd the worse for the Statesman; and
that was Oliver Cromwell: who being Sollicited by the

0

th

al

R

d

W

u

that was Oliver Cromwell; who being Sollicited byth Protestant Vaudeis in Savoy, used all his Interest to Me diate with the Duke their Prince for a Relaxation of their Miseries; and in his Letters both to the Duke and the French King, after a great deal of fruitless to turn all the Roman Catholic out of England and Ireland, and seize their Ested if some speedy Regard be not had to the Afflictions the Distressed Protestants. I refer the Reader for the Particulars, to the Latin Copies of the Letters woo on that Subject by his Secretary of Foreign Daspatch the Learned Milton; in which there are Reasons give why the English Nation should think themselves oblighto concern themselves in the Sufferings of the Po

But methinks it should be needless to go any faths than the Journals of our own Parliaments, since the Restoration; where it will evidently appear, that En

Growth of Popery, and the Danger of the Protestant Religion; and there is no doubt but an English Parliament will ever maintain the same Sentiments.

The Growth of Popery is certainly dangerous to the Protestant Religion; They are the two Buckets in the Well, the two Scales on the Beam of Power; if one comes up, the other must go down; if you add to the weight of one, it will lift the other out of its

place.

and

rent

done

neral

nce

r to

out

and e al

by

ord-

Let all those who would stand Neuter in this Cause of Religion remember, that God Almighty has declar'd against such as are lukewarm Christians: There is no Neuter Gender in Religion. In the Cause of Religion, They who are not for him are against him; the Defence of the Protestant Religion calls upon all Men, who have any Value for it, to appear in the time of its Danger: Defend Religion, and Politick Interests will be easily secur'd: a jove Principium, God and your

Country; but first God, and then your Country,

In short, though I am no Prophet, nor the son of a Prophet, I think a Man, with but a small Talent of Forcast, may be able to foretel, That if we are wanting to God in the due and vigoruous desence of his Church and Worship, which is in English, the Protestant Religion; his Providence has so witely disposed the matter, and made our Liberty so dependant on, and relative to our Religion, that it is morally impossible Liberty in England can be any longer liv'd than Religion. Popery and Slavery are like Sin and Death, direct Consequences of one another, and whenever we think sit to admit the sirst, any body may promise us the last.

The CONCLUSION.

I Cannot conclude this Matter, without remembring two Exceptions that lie against any body's pleading the Cause of Religion.

First,

First, That in all the ill Practices of the World, the Revolutions of States, Rebellions of Subjects, and Tyranny of Princes, Religion is the Mask to hide the Deformity of the Monster conceal'd,

Secondly, That God is Omnipotent, and the Protestan Religion is under his immediate Protection, and that he is able to defend it without means, and against pro-

bability.

To the First I make Answer in the Words of the Prince of Denmark, in the Letter he wrote to the law King James, on his joining with the Prince of Orang, our present King, at his coming into England;

That were not Religion the most justifiable Cause, it would

not be made the most specious Pretence.

And to this Quotation I shall add; You may as well argue against the Christian Church Administring the Eucharist, because Henry VII. Emperor of Germany, was

Poyfon'd by a Confecrated Host.

As to the Socond Argument, Tis true, God Govern the World, and in his Government of the Worldh has ordered that we should Govern our selves by Refon. God has subjected even the ways of his Projected to Rational Methods, and Outward Means agree to it. The great Chain of Causes and Effects is not interrupted, even by God himself; if it be, it is at Extraordinary Occasions, which we call Miracles.

Now according to the Nature of Causes and Confequences, the Argument for our Care of Religion multiple good; as to those People who look for Miracles, l

have nothing to fay to them.

r

hċ

ra

lo

ro

The Villainy of Sock-Jobbers detested, and the Causes of the late Run upon the Bank and Bankers discovered and considered.

Thas more than once been foretold that Stock-Jobbers and Brokers would ruin our Trade, and feveral

imes they have bid fair for the Performance.

But never was a greater Wound given to Trade in eneral, than now; never so unhappily Tim'd to the lifadvantage both of the Publick Revenue, and the urrent Credit of the Nation, nor never was there so such Bare-sac'd Villainy acted, in the Affairs of pub-

ck Trade, as there is now.

ro-

ea-

ree

201

01

uf

Trade in general is Built upon, and supported by two sential and principal Foundations, Viz. Money and redit, as the Sun and Moon alternately Enlighten and noigorate the World, so these two Essentials maintain ad preserve our Trade; they are the Life and Soul of rade, and they are the support of one another too. loney raises Credit, and Credit in its turn is an Equialent to Money.

From hence it follows, That Trade always bears a roportion to Money and Credit; and consequently, bey who by any Methods diminish the Stock of Cash

Credit, equally injure our Trade.

Tho' it would feem needless to go back to particular ass for the proof of this Assertion, yet it may not be miss to see a little from whence it comes to pass, hat our Trade is less now the War is over, than it was fore it began.

The calling in our Coin visibly put a stop to Trade, cause the Stream which drove the Mill, the Oil that wid the Wheel, was ceas'd. The prodigious Papertedit which past in Lombard-street, and which supply'd

more than twice the Quantity of the Coin, equality Supported Trade with the Money, and funk at once

with the Coin.

The Merchants finding the fensible loss to Trade, for want both of that Money and Credit, put their Invention on the Tenters, and found out the Expedient of The Exchequer also feeling the loss of the Coin Supplied with imaginary Species in Exchequer Bill and yet both these fail'd in the Performance. So in possible is it to force Credit without Cash. For till the ready Modey began to appear again, the Brokers and lobbers made a Prey of all Mankind in the matterd Bills; and in spight of the endeavours of the Bank, a the Exchequer, they bought and Sold their Notes? the fhameful Discount of 10, to 16 and 20 1. per Con.

B

te

b

di

ot

0

pa ple

to

ple

tal

70

M

on

fat

CO

Wi

bec

Wh

Tic

all.

I shall not think it needful to view the ill Effect the had upon our Trade; how the needy Tradefmen, who fold their Goods at common Rates, were fain to DA count more than their profit to get their Money. How the Exchequer-Notes, defign'd for a currency in Parments, were Jobb'd about the Town; and by the Po licy of these Gentlemen put upon the Tradesmen, order to be bought again at a high Discount, and the Engross'd again by the Money'd Men, who obtain'd the Discount as a Premio added to the Interest upon the Originals.

I could fill a large Volume with the Relation of loo Particulars, and easily make out the damage that bett our Trade in general; but I have instanc'd this only, prove how fatal the finking of Paper-Credit has been

the Nation.

The supply of new Money from the Mint, and the recovery of the Bank, has revived our Trade; and will it our Money-Credit also began to revive: For Cred always follows plenty of Cash, as naturally as the End does the Caule.

But, as if some ill Fare attended the publick Affair and we were not to recover our former Magnitude Trade; but always to be factified to the Pollies and in rerests of particular Men; here is another general Blow given to the publick Credit, and a stop to the Currency of Bills, That it will have a more fatal Effect then yet appears, I believe every Body expects; but I shall not so much predict the Consequences, as endeavour to detect the Causes.

Any one might have foreseen, That the Strife and Contention of our two East-India-Companies would produce some more than Ordinary Essect; and that the raising Stock of all Sorts, to a Value so much above the Intrinsick, must have some fatal Issue, and would fall some where at last so heavy as to be felt by the whole Body of Trade.

But belides this, 'twas easie to see that the different Interest of Parties would lay open the Publick to be injurid

by both of them.

efe

y, 10

nt

th

wit

ffet

fair

je i

l la erd Perhaps 'tis easier to Demonstrate, That this mischief is the contrivance of Persons and Parties, than it is to discover the Persons, and prove the Fact. But on the other Hand, 'tis not very difficult to Trace it back to its Original, and detect the very Persons.

The design of this Paper is not an Investive at any particular Person or Party, nor is it wrote to court or please either Side; but if any thing be said which touches or exposes the Guilty, 'tis, that they, if they please, may see their Errors; and if not, the Nation may

take care not to be further injur'd by them.

If that new Mistery or Machine of Trade we call Stock-Jobbing, be first prov'd to be at the bottom of all this Mischief; I hope the great Representative of the Nation, the Parliament, will need very few Arguments to

latisfie them of its being a publick Grievance.

The Old East-India Stock by the Arts of these unaccountable People, has within 10 Years or thereabours,
without any material Difference in the Intrinsick Value,
been Sold from 300 l. per Cent. to 37 l. per Cent. from
whence, with Fluxes and Refluxes, as frequent as the
Tides, it has been up at 150 l. per Cent. again; during
all which Differences, it would puzzle a very good
Artist

Artist to prove, That their real Stock (if they have any set loss and gain together, can have varied above 101 per Cent. upon the whole; nor can any Reasons for the rise and fall of it be shown, but the Politick Management of the Stock-Jobbing Brokers; whereby, according to the Number of Buyers and Sellers, which 'tis also in their Power to make and manage at will, the Price shall dance attendance on their Designs, and rise and fall as they please, without any regard to the Intrinsick Worth of the Stock.

The New Company, the Bank of England, the Exchequer, the whole Nation, as has been lately observed in the Freeholders Plea against Stock Jobbing, Elections of Parliament Men is, or is in a fair Way to be subjected to the

fame Management.

To bring it home to the Case in Hand, The apparent design of some People to ruin the Credit of the Nation by way of Revenge, on a Party who had opposed them in other Designs, seems so clear, that it hardly needs to

be further explained.

As foon as the Election of Parliament Men for the City of London was over, or so far over as that it plainly appeared on which side it enclin'd, a certain Parry prepar'd their Measures to bring about the very Design, which now we see broke out upon us.

And that any observing People may recollect them-

felves in the matter, it may be taken Notice of.

First, That the Old Company has ever since, and some time before, been amassing to themselves all the ready Money they could possibly get, in order to form the Design, and make a general Scarcity of Cash, at the same time stopping their Hands as to Payments, and Exports, as much as they could; and some People pretend to say, they have a Million of Money by them in Specie.

From whence I only make Two Short Observa-

tions.

First, That we may see the Nation's Enemies are Masters of their Measures, and know the directest way to ruin us: For nothing could be more Fatal to Trade, and the publick Credit, than engrossing the Current Cash, and keeping it from the Circulation, which is the Life of our Trade. But this is not the only thing in which the Old Company have Injured our general Interest of Trade.

to

in

Ce

nd

ck

be-

in

97-

he

ent

on

em

to

the

nig

ore-

gn,

-111

me

ady

the

ore-

172

iri

Secondly, 'Tis a fignthey do not live under a French Government; and 'tis well for them they do not, tho' themselves have been so fond of that Interest; for a King of France might have sent them Word, That Money being made to Circulate, if they did not know how to employ it, he did; and commanded them to lend it him at 3 per Cent.

All the while the Old Company were laying up the Cash, and dreining the Town of their ready Money, Guinea's especially; another set of Men, who are known to be in the same Interest, and to have concerted Meaiures together, laid up in the same Proportion, all the Bank-Bills they could lay Hands on.

It is impossible to imagine that two or three Men hould lay by Bank-Notes to the Tune of 300000 Pounds, which had no running Interest upon them, and have no design in it; they are known to be Men who understand their own Advantages better than so, and have not rais'd such vast Fortunes as they possess from uch blind Methods; but the vesting all their running Cash in Bank-Bills; the Old Company at the same time ecuring all the ready Money, was the first Preliminary of the design which now broke out.

Things thus prepar'd, the next stroke at the publick urrency of Cash, was a report politickly rais'd, and insustriously spread abroad, that by a Complaint from he Mint, which was nonsence in it self too, the Government was mov'd to cry down the French Pistoles to 17 s. d. and the Proclamation was in the Press forsooth e-

very Day; tho' neither Government, nor, Mint, had

then done any thing in the matter.

Thus the Town was prepar'd, the Guinea's were unterly vanish'd, the Silver Money so lessen'd as to make a visible Scarcity; a Storm gathered for the Bank, Fisheles made dubious. The next thing was the improving the approaching Sessions of Parliament, and the prospect of a War in Europe, to run down the Price of Stock; and when this was done, and all ripe for Execution, the Parties fall to Work; and first they began with the Bank, and running hard upon them with Sums of such magnitude, as easily discovered the Design; allarum'd the Bank, who to return them the own kind, push'd at their Capital Banker Mr. She heard, and run him down presently; and thus the Fight begun.

But least the Bank should be relieved from the Exchequer, they form an attack there too; where about Fifty Thousand Pounds in Exchequer-Bills present themselve

for Payment at once.

This allarum'd the Exchequer too, on which a new Subscription is call'd for by the Lords, for the exchanging Exchequer-Notes, and making them currant; which Subscription we find goes on well, and if it comes to be finished, and the Bank weathers this storm, as it not doubted it will; all this Hurricane may yet fall on themselves; and it were only to be wish'd that the sall of Stocks would effect none, but such as have couraged this destructive Hydra; this new Corporation of Hell, Stock-Fobbing.

But fince there a great many honest Genslemen and Tradesmen concern'd, who Families and Fortunate like to suffer for it; 'tis worth while to examine whether an Evil of so fatal a Nature to the Publick, so Destructive to Trade, and so ruinous to the Public Credit, ought not Effectually to be suppress.

Dn

T

I cannot however for bear to blame the Bank of By land, for Publishing, at such a Juncture as this, the willingness to allow an Interest on their Seal'd Notes, which

ich seems too plain to discover their sears of the Parand is a down right beging of Credit. I shall ask we here to tell a short Story, something allasive to s, and which will explain what I mean; whether Reader please to take it for a Parable, or a History, all one to me, and will serve my turn as well one y as another.

ake

Pi.

rov-

the

e of

xe.

gan With

De-

heir

bep

ight

che

ify

170

new

ing.

nid

S 10

5 年 是 6

n a

ned,

ne

nine

, 60

id

helf

res,

id

bt.

A certain Tradesman in London had borrowed a Thoud Pounds of a Scivener at 6 per Cent. Interest, and I kept it in his Hands some time; but losses coming on him, and particularly one which shook his Founion; be began to apprehend, that if it came to the is of that Creditor, the Scrivener, he would call in Money, and at that juncture, such a demand would

irely ruin him. To go to the Scrivener, and give him a Bribe to proe the continuing the Money; tho he knew that of People willing enough to take Money, yet he ught it look'd like lessening himself, and would ure his Reputation, and possibly only serve to make t certain, which yet was but doubtful, and put him on calling for the Money sooner than otherwise; on which he refolv'd on a quite contrary Method. He goes to the Scrivener, and tells him he had borwed fuch a Sum of Money of him, and paid him erest for it; but he found the Interest of the Money high, and 'was a hard thing for a Tradelman to it, that 'twas but working for other Folks; for he ndTrade was dull, and he gave long Credit, and the , and therefore, in short, he desired him to take in Money again, for he was uneafie to be so deeply in

The Scrivener ask'd him when he would pay it, he d him that Afternoon; if he would fend the Bond his House, he had order'd his Man to tell up the oney.

The Scrivener told him, it was hard to put the Moon them without Warning, and would be a Loss his Client to oblige him to take it in before he was provided to put it out again, that if he had call'd it he would have given him Three Months time to pay

in, and so much Notice he expected.

Aye, but says the Tradesman, that will be a Loss to a too, for I must keep it by me, or else it may not be ready the time. But, pray Sir, said the Scrivener, keep the Maney, Trade may mend; a Man that has a Thousand Poun by him, meets with Opportunities that he did not think on:

The Tradesman sinding his Design take, answer coldly, No, and so they parted; at next Meeting, the Scrivener still pressing him to keep the Money, he tell him; Look ye, Sir, you desire me to keep this Money, your Client will abate me i per Cent. of Interest, I'll kus it longer: The Scrivener agrees, and the Tradesmanswer'd his End, whereas had he gone and offer'd him is per Cent. more for Interest or Continuance, its To to One but they had call'd for their Money.

I leave any Body to apply this Story to the Bank of England, offering double Interest at a time, when a Storm threatned them, they indeed are the best judge of their own Affairs; but if they had stood their Ground boldly without it, I am of Opinion, with Submission

their Credit had stood clearer.

The Credit of the Bank of England does not immediately confist in the reality of their Foundation: Tistualit does originally depend upon the Goodness of their Bottom, but the more immediate Credit of their Proceeding, depends upon the currency of their Bills, and the currency of their Bills depends upon their immediate Pay; the Bank bas no Advantage of the meanest Gold smith, as to their current Bills, for no longer than their Payments continue punctual and free, no longer will any Man take their Bills, or give them Credit for Money.

All the Credit which remains to the Bank after their Payment comes to stop, if ever such a time shall be, that People have a Satisfaction, that at long run their

Principal

rincipal is safe, and their bottom will pay their Debts: his is the Credit of their Stock, but the Credit of their

ash ends, if ever they baulk but one Bill.

ly

Oun

bin

Wet

the tell y, if keep man him

Ten

(0

en a

dga

ound

Tion

nedi-

true,

Pro-

, and

nedi-

Gold

their

Wil

Mo

their

be, 1

their

Cip2

To ask the World to stay for their Money, and take terest, is to weaken the Credit of their Cath, and ansfer themselves to the Credit of their Stock which Body doubts to be good.

I know therefore nothing the Bank could have done ore to injure the Credit of their running Cash, than make such a Proposal of Interest upon their Bills,

hich formerly they publickly refus'd.

From these particular Instances, I proceed to exane whether these People who have carried on these assures, have not answer'd two Designs together; dat one Blow attempted to wound their opposite Par-

and Government also.

Whoever Wounds the publick Credit, wounds the ole Nation, and the Government, the giving a w to the Currency of proper Credit, is robbing the tion of so much Stock; for Credit is the second inch of Stock, and Trade must decline accordingly; lessening our Stock and Trade, we are weakened in main strength of the Kingdom; the Government weaken'd, Aids and Taxes must fall short, especially ere Trade is to pay them, Loans and Anticipations, ich are Advancements made for the immediate Sereof the Government will be stopt.

fit be in the power of Mercenary Brokers and Comies to engross the Current Cash, so as to make a reity of Money, it must consequently be in heir

Power.

Power, whenever they are pleased to show their Disesteem to the Government, to prevent the advancement of any Sum of Money for the publick Service.

And this Experiment may be a Trial of their Skill, to let us see what they are able to do, if the City does not take Care to oblige them by chusing Magistrates of Representatives to their Mind, or out of their Party.

Tis very hard, that this fort of Men by the Powerd their Money, and the Influence they have in the Stock of Companies, should have it in their Hands to puts general stop to Credit, Cash, Banks, and even the Ex-

chequer it felf.

'Tis known, their Affection to the Government is but very indifferent, and that generally speaking, both those two great Men we have mention'd, and almost the whole Party, who espouse the Old Companies Quard, have put themselves in a direct Opposition to the Friend of the Government, and always run retrograde to the King, and the Nations Interest.

That they have design'd ill, is manifest by the Even, because they have done what lay in their Power to run the Nation's Credit, in order to affect the general Trans

as well as the Persons.

I shall now examine a little the reason of this Combustion, and I cannot but restect that there seems to be several Causes to which it may be assign'd; all of which seem but to expose the Temper of the People wespet of, and to make both them and their Cause odious Mankind.

First, From Ambition to show the City that they are Persons whom it is Dangerous to disoblige, and the they are able to show their Resentments in a Method which they ought to be afraid of to let them see the they knew not what they did, when they Poll'd again Men of such Power and Instuence as they, and the they ought to have a Care of affronting Men, in who Power it lay so much to check the most essential Point of the Cities prosperity, their Trade; and to let the Government see too, that they are Men of such see

pures and Authority in the Nation, and can at their Pleasure so manage the Cash and Trade of the Town, that they can stop our Credit, break our Goldsmiths, link our Stocks, embarrass the Bank, and ruin Trade at their Will and Pleasure.

es

10

i 2

ole he

eak

SW

臣号官時

in

h

百百

Fi

urd

So far as this is a good Reason, so far, with Submission, the Government is concerned to take Care, that their Influence and Power be so restrained by wholsome Laws, as that the whole Command of the Nation's Cash and Credit may not be in the Hands of Companies and Stock-Jobbers.

Another original Cause of the present Disturbance, these Men exerting the Power I have been speaking by way of Resentment:

- 1. At the Citizens, in the Slur they thought put upon them by the Livery, for opposing their Election.
- 2. At the New Company, for Reasons drawn from the Different Interests of both the Said Companies.

Ishall not examine here whether the East-India Trade a real prejudice to the general Stock of the Kingmi, but I must be excused to be positive in this, That two Rival Companies are certainly a prejudice to East-India Trade.

And I may fafely add, That Jobbing their Stocks ait, railing and finking them at the Pleasure of Parties, private Interests, is more prejudicial to Trade in eral, than both the Companies can make amends

here is hardly a private Tradesman in the Town, one way or other seel the effects of the least stop to currency of Cash, and Goldsmiths Bills; and it seems a Grievance to be punished by the Judge, That the eral Head of Trade in a City, so dependent upon de as this is, should be liable to the Clandessine Ma-

nagement

ragement of Parties, and suffer for the petty Quarrels and Disputes of two Bast-India Companies that have no

thing to do with them.

As to the Disputes between the two Companies being prejudicial both to themselves, and to every Body else; 'tis plain by what has been said, they are prejudicial to Trade in general, by how much their private Disputes affect the value of other Peoples Estates, raising and sinking of Stocks, which have no relation to them

and influencing publick Credit.

They are, and will be certainly Destructive to the East India Trade in general, by glutting the Nation is with Goods, as to prejudice the Manufacture of England, and disgust as well as injure the Poor; and by a ducing the Prices of their own Goods, to out do an under-sell one another; which 'tis hop'd also may in time reduce them both to Circumstances more proportion'd to the Nature of the Trade, and to their own Interest.

Not that I believe 'twould be best for England to have no East-India Company neither; many parts of the Trade are certainly beneficial to the English Trade general; but to carry it on to such a Magnitude as palpably destructive to the English Manufactures, and impoverishing to the Nation, by exporting such quantities of Bullion in Specie, must certainly make it applick Nuisance, a burthen to Trade, and a damage to the Nation.

Add to this the strife between them, their Emulain in Sales must certainly destroy their own Designs, a ruin them both. For cheapness of any Goods Imposs which are with our Manufacture, must be prejudicial that Manufacture; and when two of a Trade strive ruin one another by under-selling, it generally ruins Trade, and both Parties too.

So that from the Contention between these two Companies, Trade in general is Injured, our Manufacture discouraged, both Companies will in the end be ruin

and the East-India Trade spoil'd, if not lost.

For it does not follow, That because Eight or Ten hips in a Year from India, may be a necessary and protable Trade; that therefore Thirty Ships must be so oo; and 'tis easy to demonstrate, that whereas we nay want Eight or Ten Ships a Year in that Trade, wenty or Thirty would ruin the Trade it self, and be general Prejudice to the Nation.

Trade is in no respect tolerable, but as 'tis Profitable; and the profit consists, or at least depends upon proportion of Circumstances; if the Import exceeds the Denand, Goods must fall, and if the Goods fall, the Pro-

t finks.

0-

dy

di-

ate

ing

em,

5 15

7 16.

and y in

por-

OWN

have

tha

le i

Juan

pub

0 1

atio

, 20

DOITE

cial ive

inst

Con

ctur

ruin

The Companies cannot expect, especially now their lk-Trade is limited, (as by Act of Parliament it is) at this Trade can vent the Import of about Sixty Sail. Ships now abroad; if they come to under-selling ne another, they are gone, and their Stock is not orth 20 per Cent. from the first Day they begin it.

In the mean Time, if they do find a vent for fo great quantity of Goods as all those Ships must Import, the

nglillo Manufacture must fuffer.

On the whole matter,

Whether we consider the Injury to the Publick Cre-

tby the Villainy of Stock Jobbers.

The exposing the Essentials of the Nation's Prosperito the Management of mercenary Brokers and Paris; who, upon every occasion, they are pleas'd to take, hen such as they think sit to approve of, are not, osen Lord Mayors, or Parliament Men, shall take the Liberty to shew their Resentments by Affronog the Government, ruining Banks and Goldpiths, and sinking the Stocks of all the Companies in own:

Or, the powerful Influence they have by their Mo-

y on the current Cash of the Nation.

Whether

T

Whether any of these Things are considered: Ileave it to the wise Heads of the Nation, now concerned to restlect and examine, whether it be consistent with the Sasety of the English Nation, with the Honour of the English Government, or with the Nature of the English Trade, to suffer such a fort of People to go on unprescrib'd and unlimited, or, indeed, unpunish'd.

What safety can we have at Home, while our Pesor is at the mercy of such Men, and it is in their Powe to Jobb the Nation into Feuds among our selves, and to declare a new fort of Civil War among us when the

please?

Nay, the War they manage is carried on with work Weapons than Swords and Musquets; Bombs may fin our Towns, and Troops over-run and Plunder us. But these People can ruin Men silently, undermine and in poverish by a fort of impenetrable Artisice, like Poson that works at Distance, can wheedle Men to the themselves, and Fiddle them out of their Money, by the strange unheard of Engines of Interests, Discounts, Traffers, Tallies, Debentures, Shares, Projects, and the Deband all of Figures and hard Names. They can day up their Armies, and levy Troops, set Stock again Stock, Company against Company, Alderman against deman; and the poor passive Tradesmen, like the Pessant in Flanders, are plundered by both sides, and hardly knows who hurts them.

What will become of the Honour of the English Nation, if the principal Affairs relating to the Credit both of the publick and private Funds is dependant upon further vile People, who care not who they ruin, nor who they advance, tho' one be the Nation's Friends, and they ther its Enemies, and expos'd to their particular for

fentments?

He is a worthy Patriot, and fitty qualified for a Representative, who would join his strength to over-this the Credit of the City, and tuin Trade, only to shew his private Resentment for not being chosen as he thought it to expect.

Lasty

Lastly, What Condition must the Trade of England be soon reduc'd to, when Banks and Paper-Credit, which must be own'd to be a material part of its subistance, are become so precarious as to be liable to a general Interruption from the Breath of mecenary, maitious, and revengeful Men.

It might be faid here, You are very high against Stockobbing, and Stock-jobbers, no Man ought to complain of an wil he cannot Remedy. Can you propose how to renove the grievance, and free us from the Inconvenien-

ies you have discover'd?

to the

the

14

ore.

MGI 3CG

and

hey

orle Fig. Bu in Poi-

3.单声音。

Fall

ain di

Peaardlai-

oot

五百

Re Re To Ha

ıgh

fly,

For Answer, I might say, 'tis not always to be exected that he that finds a Fault shou'd mend it: If an
inemy have laid an Ambuscade to surprise a Town,
e who sirst Discovers it is as Instrumental to save the
lace, as he who defends the Works, and the Wisdom
sthe Parliament, their present Session being upon us,
ogether with the consequence of the thing it self,
nethinks might turn the Eyes of all Men from a single
erson to that great Assembly, and expect the Remedy
where the Power of Redress more particularly is
odg'd.

But that I may also let the Reader know that this Disase is not incurable, nor the Men unpunishable, I will by down a few Generals, which if put into Execution y the Authority of Parliament, may be effectual to appress such People as we complain of, and also to

revent the Consequences.

First, To impeach the Persons of such Misdemeators as on a fair Hearing may be provid on them, and mong such other Punishments as the Authority of arliament shall judge they deserve: Let them be made incapable of buying, selling, transferring, or possessing, ither in their own Names, or the Names of any Person in trust for them, any Shares or parts of or in any of the Publick Stocks, Banks, or Companies now in leing, or shall hereafter be form'd or establish'd, either publick or private.

Secondly, Reduce the two Companies into one, linted and restrain'd to such Conditions and Articles, shou'd make the Spocks and Shares so Transferrable, to Circumstances of Time and Persons, as may rend alienating the Property more difficult and chargeable at the same time all Stock to be Forfeited to the Informer, which shall be Alienated, Pawn'd, Mortgago Given, or Sold, without be immediately Transferr'd.

Thirdly, Charge a Duty of 10 per Cent. to be put the King by the Seller, upon all Stock Transferr'd, as

ten as 'tis Alienated or Transferr'd.

Fourthly, Oblige every Person to whom any Stor is Transferr'd, to swear that he will not Buy, Sell, Alanate, or otherwise Mortgage or pledge the said Stor without a legal Entry of the same, in the Books of the said Companies, and Transferring the same according

to Act of Parliament.

Fifthly, Limit the East-India Company to such Conditions both to Stock and Trade, as may be consider with the preserving the Trade to India to the English Nation, and yet preventing the said Trade, from interfering with, encroaching upon, or otherwise being detrimental to our own Manusactures; that it may be carried on without Factions among the Rich, or Clamon from the Poor; oblige them to import proper Quantities of such Commodities as serve to help forward our own Trade, and such as the Nation wants, as Salipung Row Silk, Spices, Drugs, Canes and Callicoes, and limit them from importing too great quantities of such Goods as lessen the Consumption of our own Manusacture.

These methods, with the Additions of such as the Wisdom of the Nation will find out, wou'd effectually suppress this percinious, growing Party, whose dangerous Practices are of such a Nature, that no Man cap

fay, where they will end.

T

ndi

ra

E

of!

List

rea

no

ng

Sto Ge

5.2

qui for

bo ch

no

h

Then we shall Trade upon the square; Honesty and ndustry will be the Method of Thriving, and plain

rade be the General business of the Exchange.

Bankrupt and Beggers have advanced the Mistery of Stock-jobbing, and we can now reckon up a black list of Fifty Seven Persons, who, within these Ten rears past, have rais'd themselves to vast Estates, nost of them from Mechanick, and some of them rom broken and desperate Fortunes, by the sharping, tricking, intrequing, scandalous Employment of stock-jobbing, who have been the Losers, or what the General Stock of the Nation has been better'd by them, sa Mystery too hard to be explain'd.

Now they ride in their Coaches, keep splendid Equipages, and thrust themselves into Business, set up for Deputies, Aldermen, Sheriffs, or Mayors; but above all for Parliament Men, of which (with the mischievous Consequences that are like to attend it) enough is said to The Freeholders Plea; which I noted before, and to which I refer, and shall conclude with

this short note.

That I think, with Submission, all honest Men ought to know their Names, in order to shun their dangerous Acquaintance; and the Government has nothing before them, but effectually to suppress, and ease the Nation of so intolerable a Grievance.

The Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament-Man.

THE Distuse or Distrusts of Parliaments in the Four last Reigns, was the Nation's General Grievance; and 'twas but lately that Parliaments were Consulted in the Matters of Highest Importance to the Kingdom.

This was the Destruction of that Mutual Confident between King and People, which is so Effential to the

Prosperity of a Nation.

Parliaments were call'd together, a long Speech, and great Pretences for Money open'd the Seffion, and foon as the End was answer'd, they were sent Homabout their Business.

If they began to show their Resentments, and appear sensible of their being Impos'd upon, if they be gan to search into the Intriegues of the Court, if they began to Question Favourites and Ministers, they were equally certainly of being dismis'd.

Now to show us what kind of Nation we are (the according to the Old Character of an Englishman) can never tell when we are Well, Providence has change

the Scene.

Former Kings have been Addressed by their Palia ment to make War against the French, and Money giyen by Millions to carry it on, and have had their Money spent, and no War could be had.

Now we have a King that has fought our Battels in Person, and willingly run through all the Hazard of a bloody War, and has been oblig d to use all the Perswasions possible to bring us to Support him in

îr.

Former Kings would stand still, and see the French over-run Flanders, and Ruin our Protestant Neighbours, though the Parliaments and People have intreated them to Assist them, and save Flanders from the sal-

ing into the Hands of the French.

Now we have a King who Solicits the People to enable him to preserve Flanders from falling into the Hands of the French, and to stand by and assist our Protestant Neighbours. And we, on the contrary, are willing to see the French and Popish Powers unite and possess Flanders, and every thing else, and glad the Dutch are in danger to be Ruin'd; nay, so willing we are to have the States General destroy'd, that Damn the Dutch is become a Proverb among us.

(273)

eno

oth

an

nd 2

Om

ap be

the

Wet

tha

ng'd

rlia

gi-Mo

ttels

ards

the

in

etich

gh-

rea-

fal-

to

the

our

are

and

the

We

the

rly

Pormerly we had Kings who raised Armies in times Peace, and maintain'd them on sham Pretences of a Var never design'd, and receiv'd Aids from the Parliament three times for the Disbanding one Army, and aving spent the Money lest the Parliament to do it nemselves.

Now we have a King who against his Judgment, and, as it now appears, against the Nation's Interest, onsented to Disband the Army at the sirst Word from is Parliament, though he left all the most Powerful four Neighbours with their Forces in full Pay.

Formerly we had Kings who did what they pleas'd, ow we have a King who lets do what we please.

And yet we Englishmen are not contented, but, as it tere with our Saviour, when our Kings come Eating and Drinking, they cry, Behold a Gluton and a Drunard; and now they have a King that comes neiter Eating or Drinking, they cry out, He has a built

'Tis a vain thing to pretend to open the Eyes of the inglish Nation, but by their own immediate Danger, my body might have known in former times what he Issue of a Popish Successor would have been, and ome wifer than others told the People of it, and were Rewarded with the Ax and the Halter for their lews.

But when that Popish Successor came to the Crown, and had reduc'd the Liberties and Religion of the Nation to the last Gasp, then those very People, who could not see their Danger at a distance, took a fright when it was upon them, and what was the Consequence? Nothing, but all the Blood and Treasure of this aft War.

Had the Nation seen with the same Eyes as the late Lord Russel, Earl of Esex, and the Oxford Parliament hid see, could they have been convinced by Argument, hat it was inconsistent with the Constitution of this Proestant Kingdom to be Govern'd by a popish Prince. Could he B.-ps, who threw out that Bill have known that a Popish

ir

ir

0 2

ec

0

uc

is

m

PC

St

Popish King would erect a High Ecclesiastick Commission Court, and send them to the Tower, for refusing him Power to Dispence with the Laws, this Was had been prevented, and the Blood of 300000 English Protestants, who perished in it, had been say d; all the Ships our Merchants have lost to the French had been safe, and the many Millions of Money, which have been spent, had been in our Pockets; all this is owing to the blindness of that Age, who could not see the danger of the Nation, till it was just upon them.

Now, Gentlemen, this is to give you notice, that the Nation is more in danger at this time from abroad

than ever it was then in at home.

The King in his Proclamation for the calling a Parliament, has done two things which no King his Predecessor ever did in our Age.

First, He has told us, that he has such a Confidence, in his People, that he is very desirous to meet them,

and have their Advice in Parliament.

Secondly, He tells us, that what he will advise with them about are Matters of the highest Importance to

the Kingdom.

Matters of the highest Importance to a Kingdom must relate to some of these things, Peace and War, the Sasety of Religion, Liberty and Trade; at least it will be allow'd that these are Matters of the highest Importance to the Kingdom.

Now, tho' I shall adventure to explain his Majesty's meaning, yet I may be allow'd to build the following Discourse on the supposition of this Explica-

tion.

And venture to suppose his Majesty had said, that the danger the Protestant Religion seems to be in from the formidable Appearance of the French Power, and the danger our Trade is in from the Succession of Spain devolving to the House of Bourbon, and the danger of a new Flame of War breaking out upon our Confederated Neighbours, whom our Interest, as well as Leagues and Alliances, oblige us to Assist; all these things

ings being Matters of the highest Importance to the ingdom, he has resolv'd to call a new Parliament, advise with them about these important things.

And because the Circumstances of Assairs are such, s may bring us under a necessity of Armies, which cople are so mightily assaid of; and that the Condition the breach of our Army has left us in has been uch, that if another should be wanting to defend us, is a Question where it could be rais'd.

Wherefore our proper Defence, may be one of the mportant things, for ought we know, about which

hey are to Advise.

011

efin

Nar

slip.

the

een

ave

ing

the

120

ad

1

US

n,

0

1

1

d

And because the Debate of an Army is a tender nice point, I shall explain my self; I do not mean that a standing Army should have been kept up in England in time of Peace, but, I say, it had been better for England, and all Europe, that we had not disarm'd our selves so soon; and if we had disarm'd, that we had not so entirely done it all at once; whereby we rendred our selves so despicable, that the French King has had an opportunity to Affront the whole Confederacy, in remouncing a League ratify'd and exchang'd, and taking possession of a Crown for his Grandson, on the new invented Title of a last Will and Testament.

This he would not have adventur'd to have done, had the English been in a Capacity to have posses'd Flanders, and to have appear'd at Sea, to have Protected the Princes of Italy in their Adherence to the Em-

peror.

But the English having reduc'd themselves to such a Condition, that whenever the French, or any body else, please to Quarrel with us, we must be a considerable while before we can be in a posture to act Offensively, and the French having so insulted us in the Affair of Spain, that it will stand as an effectual Proof, whether we are in a Capacity to resent an Affront or no; His Majesty, who, when in a much lower Station, did not use to suffer himself to be so treated, has thought six to advise with the English Parliament in the Case.

le

va

f

Fi

n

By advising with the Parliament, I understand, I forming them of the State of Affairs, telling them own Opinion, and asking theirs, proposing the Ma sures he thinks sit to take, and desiring their Opinio of the Matter, and if they agree with him in the Measures which are to be taken, then to propose the making provision in a Parliamentary way, for enabling him to prosecute such Measures as they agree to.

For to debate and consider Matters of so much Consequence, the King has directed Writs for the calling a new Parliament to meet at West minster the 6th of Research

bruary next.

Since the Matter is referr'd to the People of Enland, and they are to chuse Representatives for so great a Work, as to Advise with a Protestant King about things of the highest Importance to the Kingdom.

Give a stander-by leave, Gentlemen, to offer some thing to the People of England, by way of Advice of Direction, in the great Affair they have before them, and if it be with more Freedom than is usual, ber with him for once, because 'tis about Matters of the

highest Importance.

The usual Advices given in like Cases, formerly (when the the Elections of Members were so corrupted, that indeed Advice was necessary, the hopeless) uses be, to chuse Men that had Estates, and Men of Honesty, Men that had Interests in the Freehold, and in the Corporations, and that would not give away their Liberties, and the Advice was good: And had the Country taken that Advice the P——would not have been huff'd by King James into a tacit permission both of a Standing Army at Home, and the dispensing the Popish Officers continuing in Commission without taking the Test.

But my Advice must differ from, the it must include part of the foremention'd Particulars; and therefore while I am directing these Sheets to the Free holders of England, I beg them to consider in their Choice of Parliament men, that they may be Men of Estates,

nl

Vie

nio th

lin

Con

ling

Pa

70

reat

100

me-

01

em,

)ear

the

rly

ted,

10.

in

n-

en

200

ng

in-

nd

eed

eir of es,

ates, and Men of Honour in the Countries, who some Circumstances may not be proper to serve in Parliament, because by Prejudice or private Prinles their Judgment may be pre-engaged to the difvantage of the Nation's Interest; and since there such, its necessary, Gentlemen, to Caution you.

First, That you be well assured the Gentlemen you Il chuse arethroughly engag'd with the present Cirnstances of the Nation, and throughly satisfied with present Establishment of the Government; as Pas are justly excluded by Law from coming to Parnent, because it cannot be expected that a Romass bolick can be a proper Person to consult about the erest of a Protestant Kingdom, so it cannot be Ranal that he who is a declar'd Friend to King James, his Interest, can be a proper Person to Advise with ng William about Matters of the highest Importance the Kingdom; it cannot be Rational, that he who uld be willing to have this Nation return to her Olience to a Popish King, can be a proper Person to be nsulted with in Parliament about securing and deding the Protestant Religion; this were to pull down at we intend to build, and would be as proper a yto help us, as a French Army maintain'd in Engd, would be proper to defend us against Lewis the urteenth.

Those Men who drink Healths to King James, and I him all manner of Prosperity, are they sit Men to present a Protestant Nation, and to Advise a Protestant Prince for the Security of the Protestant Re-

Wherefore, Gentlemen, for God sake, and for your in sakes, take heed, and set a Mark on such Men; it you as Men disaffected to the present Settlement of the tion, Friends to the late King, or to his Interest, a may be certain such Men will pull back the Natis Deliverance, and hinder, not further that Unanity of Councils, which is so much more needful with the work. Can the Friends to a Popish Prince be

fit to Represent a Protestant People? I have nothing to say to those we call facobites, tho' I wonder any can be such, and yet be Protestants; but as to their Persons say nothing to them, no, nor to the Papists, provided they keep the Peace; but to single such out to serve the Nation in a Protestant Parliament, and to advise with King William in Matters of the highest Importance; this is a thing so Preposterous, is such a Contradiction, that I know not what to say it; 'tis like going to the Devil with a Case of Conscience.

Even our Adversaries cannot but laugh at the folly of the English Nation, that they should chase their Enemies to be their Counsellors, and think to Establish King William by King James's Friends, nothing can sooner compleat the Ruin of the Kingdom, than to still the House of Commons with Jacobite Members, who will be sure to forward any thing that tends to Division, in order to hinder the Nations Happiness; wherefore though I might imagine such Advice to be needless, I must insist upon it, that you will avoid such Men as either have discover'd a Disassection to King William, and the present Settlement of the Nation, or that have been upheld by that Party,

In the next place, Gentlemen, let your Eyes be up on Men of Religion, chuse no Atheists, Socinians, He

reticks, Afgillites and Blasphemers.

Had the Original of the late War been under the Reign of such a Body of Men, England might have made a Will, and given her Crown to the Duke & Berry, as Spain has to the Duke & Anjou, and have

fought Protection from the French.

The danger of Religion calls for Men of Religion to consult about it; you can never expect that Atheists, Socinians, or Asgillites, will have any tenderness up on their Minds for the Protestant Religion; Jacobites will as soon support King William, as Atheists will preserve the Protestant Religion; what concern can they have upon their minds for the Protestant Religion, who really are of no Religion at all? They'll think it hard to

faile any Money for the preservation of Religion, who sancy all Religion to be a trick, and the cheat of the Clergy; they can never think the danger of the Protestant Religion to signific much, who wou'd not give a Shilling to secure it; and they will never give a Shilling to secure it, who Believe nothing of the matter; besides this, What good Laws? What Reformation of Manners? What wholesome Orders for the Morality of Conversation can we expect from Men of no Religion?

Of all things therefore the Members you chuse shou'd be Men of Religion, Men of Orthodox Principles, and Moral in Practice, and that more especially now, because the security of Religion not only here, but over the whole World, may lye before them, and have a

great dependance upon their Councils.

d

6

3

1.

of

e-

B

n

to

rs,

to

s;

be

ch

ng

10

Ip-

le-

the

ave

1

ave

1 to

ists,

up-

ites

pre-

hey

who

d to

3. Men of Sense; the House of Commons is not a place for Fools; the great Affairs of the State, the Welfare of the Kingdom, the publick Safety, the Religion, Liberties, and Trade, the Wealth and Honour of the Nation, are not things to be debated by Green Heads; the saying we have, that the House of Commons is a School for States-men, is an Error, in my Opinion, they shou'd be all well Taught, and thoroughly Learn'd in Matters of the highest Moment before they come there.

There has always been a fort of Gentlemen in the H—fe who us'd to be called the Dead Weight, who pais their Votes in the House as the poor Ignorant Freeholders in the Country do, just as the Landlord, or the Justice, or the Parson directs; so these Gentlemen understanding very little of the matter, give their Vote just as Sir such a one doe's, let it be how it will, or just follow such a

Party, without judging of the Matter.

Pray, Gentlemen, if we are ruin'd, and the Protelant Religion must sink in the World, let us do our best o save it; don't let us have cause to say, we sent a parcel of Fools about the Business, that fell into Heats and Parties, and spent their time to no purpose, for want of knowing better.

LI

Of all Employments a Fool is the most unfit for a Parliament Man, for there is no manner of Business for him; he is capable of saying neither Ay, nor No, but as he is lead.

I desire to be understood here what I mean by a Fool, not a Natural, and Idiot, a Ben in the Minaries, a Born Fool, no, nor a silly, stupid, downright Blockheaded Fool: But Men are Fools, or Wise-Men, comparatively considered with respect to their several Capacities, and their several Employments; as he may be a Fool of a Parson, who is a very Ingenious Artisicer; a Fool of a Clock-maker, and yet be a very good Sailor; so a Gentleman may be a good Horse-racer, a good Sportsman, a good Swords-man, and yet be a Fool of a Parliament-man, therefore so I am to be Understood.

That he who is Capable to serve his Country as a Representative in Parliament, ought to be a Man of Sense, that is, a Man of a general Knowledge, and Receptive of the general Notions of things, acquainted with the true Interest of his Native Country, and the general State of it, as to Trade, Liberties, Laws, and common Circumstances, and especially of that part of it for which he ferves; he ought to know how to deliver his Mind with freedom and boldness, and pertinent to the Case, and he ought to be able to distinguish between the different Circumstances of things, to know when their Liberties are Encroached upon, and to defend them, and to know how to value a Prince who is faithful to the Liberty and Interest of his Country, and to distinguish such a one from those who have made it their business to Oppress and Invade the Liberties and Properties of the People, and betray them and their Interest to Popish and Bloody Ene-

4. Men of Years; though 'tis confess'd Wisdom makes a Young Man Old, yet the House of Commons is not a House for Boys; we have seen too many young Men in the House, and rash Councils are generally

0

he

rally the Effect of young Heads. Fools and Boys would do less harm in the House, and grow wiser by being there, were they but allow'd to Sit, and not give their Votes; but while a Boy may do as much Mischief as a Man, and a Fool as a Man of Sense, 'tis hard the Material Points of the Nation's Happiness should be committed either to young or weak Heads.

The Grandeur of the present French Monarchy is not unjustly ascrib'd to the extraordinary Men, who are of the King's Council. The Parliament of England is the Great Council of the Nation, and on their Resolutions depends the Prosperity both of King and People. Now if these Councils are committed to young Heads, the Proceedings will be suitable; as he that sends a Fool with a Message must expect a soolish Answer; so he that sends a Boy to Market expects to

make a Child's Bargain.

r

ut

ol,

ed

es,

loc

of

ts-

12-

S a

of

Re-

ted

the

and

t of

de-

rti-

aish

10

and

nce

un-

who

the

Ene-

dom

nons

nany

ene-

rally

5. Men of Honesty. It was formerly said, Chuse Men of Estates; the reason was, that they might not be tempted by Places and Pensions from the Court, to sell the Nation's Liberties; and, indeed, the Caution was good; but, Gentlemen, the Case is alter'd, the Court and the Nation's Interest are now all of a side, which they were not then, nor, indeed, never were since Queen Elizabeth. The King desires we should do nothing but what is for the Security and Prosperity of Religion, and the Glory of the Nation: The Caution about Estates can do no harm, but a Man's Estate does not Qualifie him at all to judge of the necessity of Giving.

The Article of Estate was only supposed to make a Man Cautious what he gave, because he was to may the more of it himself. Now let a Man have but sense to know when there is a necessity to give, and hat Sense back'd with Honesty, if he has not one Groat in Estate, he will be as cautious of giving away the Nation's Money, as he would be of his own:

U 2

To

To desire Men should have Estates, that their Interest should make them shy, and backward to give Money; fropose, at the same time they should want both Sense and Honesty. Sense, that they could not value the Nation's Money, unless they were to pay part of it themselves; and Honesty, that they would not take as much care of giving away the Nation's Money as their own. Wherefore do but chuse Men of Honesty, and I do not lay fo great a stress upon a Man's Estate. If there was any Body to Bribe them, fomething might be faid; but that Trade is over, (God be thank'd) King William has no need for it, and King Fames cannot afford it; and so that Fear ceases.

The last Character I shall recommend to your Choice is, let them be Men of Morals.

Rakes and Beaus are no more fit to fit in the House of Commons, than Fools and Knaves. 'Tis hard we should put the Work of Reformation into the Hands of fuch, whose Conversation is Vicious and Scandalous. A Drunken Parson is a very improper Agent to reform a Parish, a Lewd Swearing Justice is not likely to reform the Country, no more is a Vitious Immoral Parliament likely to reform a Nation. Reformation of Manners is an Article of the highest Importance to the Kingdom; the King has Recommended it to every Parliament, and yet we find it very much retarded; it goes on fo heavily, that the Proceedings are hardly visible; and till you have a reform'd Parliament, you cannot expect a Parliament Reformers.

Unless our Members are Men of Morals, we mult expect very few Laws against Immorality; and if there should fuch clean things come out of an unclean, it would be all Heteredox, and Unnatural; 'twould be like a monstrous Birth, the Parent would be affraid of it, and it would be asham'd of its Parent. Befides,

Besides, how can we expect that God should accept of the Offering dedicated by Impure Hands? The Work can never be supposed to prosper while the Undertakers plead for God, and at the same time Sacrifice to the Devil.

'Tis true, that God oftentimes Works by unlikely Infiruments, but 'tis not often that he Works by Contraries; Jehu was made use of, to bring to pass the Ruin
God had foretold to the Family of Ahab; but 'twas a Jofish and a Jehosophar, for whom God reserv'd the Work
of Reformation, and the Destruction of Idolatry.

t

e

0

al

y

V

ift re

2

But allow that God may make use of improper Methods, and unlikely Instruments, when he pleases to bring to pass what his Providence has designed; yet we are not to confine him to show his Power, and oblige him to make use of such Instruments as he can have no Pleasure in, least he should think fit to resuse his Blessing, and make the Work Abortive; or at least delay his Concurrence to the Work of our Reformation, till we shall think fit to chuse such Persons for the carrying it on, as are fit to be employed in so great a Work.

tha Frynchis with actually

Loylett afficial to may be the

The procedure feligien fems comercials and organization with the contract of t

the but the so mive die 1901 out of the and the

lighter to reach a decriber Lighter to

the specient meanital and a County

U 3 and a series THE

THE

Poor Man's P L E A.

ft

ti

n li

h

fi

a

e

ti

L

In searching for a proper Cure of an Epidemick Distemper, Physicians tell us'tis first necessary to know the Cause of that Distemper, from what Part of the Body, and from what ill Habit it proceeds; and when the Cause is discover'd, it is to be remov'd, that the Essect may cease of its self; but if removing the Cause will not work the Cure, then indeed they proceed to apply proper Remedies to the Disease it self, and the particular Part afflicted.

Immorality is without doubt the present reigning Distemper of the Nation: And the King and Parliament, who are indeed the proper Physicians, seem nobly inclin'd to undertake the Cure. 'Tis a great Work, well worthy their utmost Pains: The Honour of it, were it once perfected, would add more Trophies to the Crown, than all the Victories of this Bloody War, or the glory of this Honourable Peace.

But as a Person under the Violence of a Disease sends in vain for a Physician, unless he resolves to make use of his Prescription; so in vain does the King attempt to resorm a Nation, unless they are willing to resorm them-

felves, and to submit to his Prescriptions.

Wickedness is an ancient Inhabitant in this Country,

and 'tis very hard to give its Original.

But however difficult that may be, 'tis easie to look back to a time when we were not so generally infected with Vice as we are now; and 'twill seem sufficient to enquire into the Causes of our present Description.

The Protestant Religion seems to have an unquestioned Title to the first introducing a strict Morality among us; and 'tis but just to give the Honour of it, where 'tis

so eminently due. Reformation of Manners has something of a Natural Confequence in it from Reformation in Religion: For fince the Principles of the Protestant Religion disown the Indulgencies of the Reman Pontiff, by which a thousand Sins are, as Venial Crimes, bought off, and the Priest, to fave God Almighty the trouble, can blot them out of the Account before it comes to his Hand; common Vices lost their Charter, and Men could not Sin at fo cheap a Rate as before. fant Religion has in it felf a natural Tendency to Virtue, as a standing Testimony of its own Divine Original, and accordingly it has suppress'd Vice and Immorality in all the Countries where it has had a Footing: It has civiliz'd Nations, and reform'd the very Tempers of its Professors: Christianity and Humanity has gone Hand and Hand in the World, and there is so visible a difference between the other civiliz'd Governments in the World, and those who now are under the Protestant Powers, that it carries its Evidence in it felf.

The Reformation begun in England in the Days of King Edward the Sixth, and afterwards gloriously sinished by Queen Elizabeth, brought the English Nation to such a degree of Humanity and Sobriety of Conversation, as we have reason to doubt will hardly be seen

again in our Age.

In King James the First's time, the Court affecting something more of Gallantry and Gaiety, * Luxury got spoting; and twenty Years Peace, together with no extraordinary Examples from the Court, gave too great Encouragement to Licentiquiness.

If it took tooting in King James the First's time, it took a deep Root in the Reign of his Son; and the Liberty given the Soldiery in the Civil War, dispersid all manner of Prophaneness throughout the Kingdom.

U 4

8. That

Mr. Coke in his Detection says the Scots brought the Habit of Swearing into England, which our Court Imitated; King James being a most
Horrible Swearer himself, all the Court follow'd the Example.

8. That Prince, tho' very Pious in his own Person and Practice, had the Missortune to be the first K. of England and perhaps in the World, that ever establish'd Wicked ness by a Law: By what unhappy Council, or scretill Pate he was guided to it, is hard to determine; but the Bok of Sports, as it was called, tended more to the vitiating the Practice of this Kingdom, as to keeping the Lord's Day, than all the Acts of Parliament, Proclamations, and Endeavours of suture Princes has done, or ever will do to reform it.

And yet the People of England express'd a general fort of an Aversion to that Liberty; and some, as if glutted with too much Freedom, when the Reins of Law were taken off, refused that Practice they allow'd them

felves in before.

In the time of King Charles the Second, Lewdres, and all manner of Debauchery arriv'd to its Meridian. The Encouragement it had from the Practice and Allowance of the Court, is an invincible Demonstration how far the Influence of our Government extends in the Practice of the People.

The present King, and his late Queen, whose Glorious Memory will be dear to the Nation as long as the World stands, have had all this wicked Knot to unrave. This was the first thing the Queen set upon while the King was engaged in his Wars abroad: She first gave all sorts of Vice a general Discouragement; and on the contrary, rais'd the value of Virtue and Sobriety by he Royal Example. The King having brought the Warm a Glorious Conclusion, and settled an Honourable Peace, in his very first Speech to his Parliament, pur claims a new War against Prophaneness and Immorality and goes on also to discourage the practice of it by he Royal Example.

Thus the Work is begun nobly and regularly; and the Parliament, the general Representative of the Nation, follows this Royal Example, in enacting Laws 10

suppress all manner of Prophaneness, &c.

and Thek

iv

no

f

ec

br

ar

61

e

These are great Things, and well improved, would ive an undoubted Overthrow to the Tyranny of Vice, and the Dominion Prophanens has usurped in the Hearts f Men.

1

out

the

the

na-

Ver

eral

ut-

em-

efs

20:

Al-

100

the

ori-

the

the

gave

the

her ar to

able

p10-

ality,

his

200

Vati

s to

hele

But we of the Plebeii find our selves justly agrieed in all this Work of Reformation; and this Reorming Rigour makes the real Work impossible:
wherefore we find our selves forced to seek Redress
f our Grievances in the Old honest way of Petitionng Heaven to relieve us: And in the mean time we
olemnly Enter our Protestation, against the Vicious
art of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation; as
ollows.

First, We Protest, That we do not find, impartially nquiring into the Matter, speaking of Moral Goodess, that you are one jot better than we are, your lignities, Estates and Quality excepted. Tis true, we re all bad enough, and we are willing in good Maners to agree, that we are as wicked as you; but we annot find on the exactest Scrutiny, but that in the lommonwealth of Vice, the Devil has taken care to evel Poor and Rich into one Class, and is fairly going n to make us all Graduates in the last Degree of mmorality.

Secondly, We do not find that all the Proclamations, eclarations, and Acts of Parliament yet made, have ny effective Power to punish you for your Immoralities, it does us. Now, while you make Laws to punish us, and let your felves go free, tho' guilty of the fame Vies and Immoralities, those Laws are unjust and uneual in themselves.

Tis true, the Laws do not express a Liberty to you, and a Punishment to us; and therefore the King and arliament are free, as King and Parliament, from this ur Appeal; but the Gentry and Magistrates of the lingdom, while they execute those Laws upon us the

poor Commons, and themselves practifing the fame Crimes, in defiance of the Laws both of God and Man go unpunish'd; This is the Grievance we protest a

gainst, as unjust and unequal.

Wherefore, till the Nobility, Gentry Justices of the Peace and Clergy, will be pleased either to Reform their own Manners, and suppress their own Immora lities, or find out some Method and Power impartially to punish themselves when guilty, we humbly crave Leave to Object against setting any poor Man in the Stocks, and fending them to the House of Correction for Immoralities, as the most unequal and unjust way of proceeding in the World.

And now Gentlemen,

That this Protestation may not seem a little to Rude, and a Breach of good Manners to our Superiours, we crave Leave to Subjoin our Humble Appea to your felves; and will, for once, knowing your English Gentlemen to be Men of Honour, make you Judges in your own Cafe.

First, Gentlemen, We appeal to your felves, whe ther ever it be likely to perfect the Reformation of Manners in this Kingdom, without you, Whether Laws to punish us, without your Example also to influence us

> n et

ne H

ei

bu

h

ef

will ever bring the Work to pass.

The first step from a loose vicious Practice in this Nation was begun by Edward the Sixth, back by a Reform'd Clergy, and a Sober Nobility: Queen Elizabeth carried it on: 'Twas the Kings and the · Gentry which first again Degenerated from that still Observation of Moral Virtues, and from thence carried Vice on to that degree it now appears in. From the Court Vice took its Progress into the Country; and in the Families of the Gentry and Nobility it harbourd till it took Heart under their Protection; and made av general Salley into the Nation; and We the poor Commons

nons, who have been always easie to be guided by the example of our Landlords and Gentlemen, have really seen debauch'd into Vice by their Examples: And it nust be the Example of you the Nobility and Gentry of the lingdom, that must put a Stop to the Flood of Vice and prophaneness which is broken in upon the Country, or

will never be done.

ame

Ian.

t 2

of

Orm

Ora-

ally

rave

the

for

v of

t00

oeri-

pea

12 25

708

whe

lan-

e us

this

the

fri8

rrice

the

and

adea

om-

Our Laws against all manner of Vicious Practices re already very fevere: But Laws are useles, infigificant Things, if the Executive Power which lies in he Magistrate be not exerted. The Justices of the eace have the Power to punish, but if they do not put orth that Power, 'tis all one as if they had none at II: Some have possibly exerted this Power; but wherever it has been so put forth, it has fallen upon us the oor Commons: These are all Cobweb Laws, in which he small Flies are catch'd, and great Ones break thro'. ly Lord Mayor has whipt about the poor Beggars. nd a few scandalous Whores have been sent to the House of Correction; some Alehouse-keepers and Vinters have been fin'd for drawing Drink on the Sabbath-Pay; but all this falls upon us, of the Mob, the poor lebeii, as if all the Vice lay among us, for we do not nd the Rich Drunkard carry'd before my Lord Mayor, or a Swearing Lewd Merchant. The Man with a Gold ling, and Gay Cloaths, may Swear before the Juffice, or tthe Justice, may reel home through the open Streers, nd no Man take any notice of it; but if a poor Man et drunk, or fwears an Oath, he must to the Stocks ithout Remedy.

In the second Place, We appeal to your selves, where Laws or Proclamations are capable of having any select towards a Reformation of Manners, while the senches of our Justices are infected with the scandatus Vices of Swearing and Drunkenness; while our assistances themselves shall punish a Man for Drunkeness, with a God damn him, set him in the Stocks: And if aws and Proclamations are useless in the Case, then

theyare good for nothing, and had as good be let alo

as publish'd.

Tis hard, Gentlemen, to be punish'd for a Crim by a Man as guilty as our selves; and that the Figura a Man makes in the World, must be the reason whe shall not be liable to the Law: This is really punishing Men for being poor, which is no Crime at all; a Thief may be said to hang'd, not for the Fact, by

for being taken.

We further appeal to your felves, Gentlemen, a inform us, whether there be any particular Reals why you should be allow'd the full Career of your contrupt Appetites, without the Restraint of Laws, while you your selves agree that such Offences shall be purished in us, and do really Execute the Law upon the poor People, when brought before you for the same Things.

Wherefore that the Work of Reformation of Manners may go on, and be brought to Perfection, to the Glory of God, and the great Honour of the Kingan Parliament: That Debauchery and Prophanenes, Drukenness, Whoring, and all fort of Immoralities, may be suppress'd, we humbly propose the Method which may

effectually accomplish to great a Work.

(1.) That the Gentry and Clergy, who are the larders of us poor ignorant People, and our Lights erection high Places to Guide and Govern us, would, in the first Place, put a voluntary Force upon themselves, and effectually reform their own Lives, their way of Conversing, and their common Behaviour among their & vants and Neighbours,

Modes, and Customs, and Manners of their Neighbours; and their Examples in the Countries especially which have the principal Management of the growth of the

th

am

1an

o the

an

TUD

y b

mal

Lea

edat

the

and

Con

Ser

de igh

cially,

gree tel

horing; all of them very ill becoming a Gentleman, wever Custom may have made them Modish: Where one of these Three are in a House, there is certainly mething of a Plantation of God in the Family; for ey are such Epidemic Distempers, that hardly Huane Nature is entirely free from them.

n. Drunkenness, that Brutish Vice; a Sin so fordid, dso much a Force upon Nature, that had God Alghty enjoyn'd it as a Duty, I believe many a Man ould have ventur'd the Loss of Heaven rather than we perform'd it. The Pleasure of it seems to be secretly hid, that wild Heathen Nations know nong of the matter; 'tis only discover'd, by the wise ople of these Northern Countries, who are Proficients Vice, Philosophers in Wickedness, who can extract a assure to themselves in losing their Understanding, I make themselves Sick at Heart for their Diversi-

If the History of this well-bred Vice was to be writ-, 'twould plainly appear that it begun among the ntry, and from them was handed down to the poorer t, who still Love to be like their Betters. After the Reution of King Charles the Second, when drinking King's Health became the distinction between a Calier and a Roundhead, Drunkenness began its Reign, and has Reign'd almost forty Years: The Gentry cares'd s Beaftly Vice at fuch a Rate, that no Companion, Servant was thought proper, unless he could bear a antity of Wine; and, to this Day, 'tis added to the aracter of a Man, as an additional Title, when would speak well of him, He is an Honest Drunken ow; as if his Drunkenness was a Recommendation his Honesty. From the practice of this nasty Faty, our Gentlemen have arriv'd to the teaching of it; that it might be effectually preserv'd to the next e, have very early instructed the Youth in it. Nay, ar has Custom prevail'd, that the Top of a Gentleman's

man's Entertainment has been to make his Friend Drunk and the Friend is so much reconcil'd to it, that he take that for the effect of his Kindness, which he ought much to be affronted at, as if he had kic'd him down Stairs: Thus 'tis become a Science, and but that h Infruction proves so easie, and the Youth too apt Learn, possibly we might have had a College erede for it before now. The further Perfection of the Vice among the Gentry, will appear in two things that 'tis become the Subject of their Glory, and in way of expressing their Joy for any publick Blessing Fack, said a Gentleman of very high Quality, when a ter the Debate in the House of Lords, King William was Voted into the Vacant Throne; Fack (fayshe God damn ye, Jack go bome to your Lady, and tell ber w bave got a Protestant King and Queen, and go make a Bonfor as big as a House, and bid the Butler make ye all Drunk, Dog; Here was facrificing to the Devil, for a Thank giving to God. Other Vices are committed as Vices and Men act them in private, and are willing to hid them; but Drunkenness they are so fond of, that the will glory in it, boast of it, and endeavour to promote it as much as possible in others: 'Tis a Triumph to Champion of the Bottle, to repeat how many Quart of Wine he has Drunk at a Sitting, and how he made fuch and fuch Honest Fellows Drunk. Men Lye, and Foreswear, and bide it, and are asham'd of it, as they have reason to do; But Drunkenness and Whoring are Accomplishments Men begin to value themselves upon, repeat them with Pleasure, and affect a fort of Vanity in the History; are content all the World should be Witnesses of their Intemperance, have made the Crime a Badge of Honour to their Breeding, and introduce the practice as a Fashion. Whoever gives himself the Trouble to reflect on the Custom of our Gentlemen in their Families, encouraging and promoting this Vice of Drunkenness, among the poor Commons, will not think it a Scandal upon the Gentry of England, if we

y, That the mode of Drinking, as 'tis now practifed, dits Original from the Practice of the Country-Gen-

men, and they again from the Court.

ink

take

br

OW

d

pt t

cte

thi

ngs l th

Ting

n af

llian

he

שי

onfin

k, 9

nkf

ices

hide

they

note

102

nado

and

they

pon,

nity

d be

rime

duce

n in

Vice

not

f we fay,

It may be objected, and God forbid it should not. hat there are a great many of our Nobility and entlemen, who are Men of Honour, and Men of orals, and therefore this Charge is not Universal. To hich we Answer, 'Tis Universal for all that; because ofe very Gentlemen, though they are negatively clear to the Commission of the Crimes we speak of, yet e politively guilty in not executing that Power the w has put into their Hands, with an Impartial Viour. For where was that Gentleman or Justice of the ace ever yet found, who executed the Terms of the w upon a Drunken, Swearing, Lewd Gentleman, Neighbour, but the Quality of the Person has been License to the open Exercise of the worst of Crimes; if there were any Baronets, Knights, or Esquires in e next World; who, because of those little Steps ultom had raised them on, higher than their Neighours, should be exempted from the Divine Judicature; that as Captain Vratz said, who was Hang'd for outh'ring Mr. Thynn, God would show them some Respect they were Gentlemen.

If there were any reason, why a rich Man should be smitted in the publick Exercise of open Immoralists; and not the poor Man, something might be said: at if there be any difference it lies the other way; the Vices of a poor Man affect only himself; but e rich Man's Wickedness affects all the Neighbour-bod, gives offence to the Sober, encourages and harms the Lewd, and quite overthrows the weak Resource and Morality. If my own Watch goes false, deceives me and none else; but if the Town Clock bestalse, it deceives the whole Parish. The Gentry the Leaders of the Mob; if they are Lewd and runken, the others strive to imitate them; if they

discourage Vice and Intemperance, the other will not be so forward in it, nor so fond of it.

To think then to effect a Reformation by punishing the Poor, while the Rich seem to enjoy a Charter for Wickedness, is like taking away the Effect, that the Cause

may cease.

We find some People very fond of Monopolizing a Vice, they would have all of it to themselves; they must, as my Lord Rochester said of himself, Sin like a Lord; little sneaking Sins won't serve turn; but they must be Lewd at a rate above the common size, to let the World see they are capable of it.

Our Laws seem to take no Cognizance of such, perhaps for the same reason that Lycurgus made no Law against Parricide, because he would not have the Sin

1

named among his Citizens.

Now the poor Man sees now such Dignity in Vice, as to study Degrees; we are downright in Wickedness, as we are in our Dealings; it we are Drunk, 'tis plain Drunkenness; Swearing and Whoring, is all Blunderbus with us; we don't affect such Niceties in our Conversation, and the Justices use us accordingly; nothing but the Stocks, or the House of Correction is the Case, when we are brought before them; but when our Masters, the Gentlemen, come to their refined Practice, and Sin by the Rules of Quality, we do not find any thing come of it but salse Heraldry, the Vice is punish'd by the Vice, and the Punishment renews the Crime.

The Case, in short, is this; the Lewdness, Prophane ness and Immorality of the Gentry, which is the main cause of the general Debauchery of the Kingdom, is not at all touch'd by our Laws, as they are now Executed; and while it remains so, the Reformation of Manners can never be brought to pass, nor Prophaneness and Immorality suppress'd; and therefore the punishing the Poor distinctly, is a Mock upon the good Designs of the King and Parliament; an Act of Injustice upon

pon them to punish them, and let others as guilty go ee; and a fort of Cruelty too, in taking the Advange of their Poverty to make them Suffer, because new want Estates to purchase their Exemption.

We have fome weak Excuses for this matter, which out be confidered: As,

- (1.) The Justice of the Peace is a Passive Magistrate, If an Information be brought before him, and is not take notice of any thing, but as it is laid in Fact, and brought to an Affidavit. Now, if an Affidavit be nade before a Justice, that such or such a Man Swore, was Drunk, he must, or cannot avoid Fineing him; he Law obliges him to it, let his Quality be what it ill; so that the Defect is not in the Law, nor in the affice, but in the want of Information.
- (2.) The Name of an Evidence, or Informer, is so and alous, that to attempt to Inform against a Man or the most open Breach of the Laws of Morality, is lough to denominate a Man unsit for Society; a Rogue, and an Informer are Synonimous in the Vulgar Acption; so much is the real Detection of the opening the Crimes against God, and Civil Government, Dispuraged and Avoided.
- (3.) The Impossibility of the Cure is such, and the abit has so obtain'd upon all Mankind, that it seems visted with Humane Nature, as an Appendix to Natal Frailty, which it is impossible to seperate from it.

For Answer ;

101

ng

or use

ga ey

6

ey

let-

Y.

in

s,

1-

1

0-

10

d

IC

VS

e.

19

0

1. Tis 'true, the Justice of the Peace is, in some reect, a Passive Magistrate, and does not act but by Intmation, but such Information would be brought if were encouraged; if Justices of the Peace did ac-

quanne

quaint themselves with their Neighbourhood, they would foon hear of the Immoralities of the Parifi and if they did impartially execute the Law on fucha offended, without respect of Persons, they would soon have an account of the Persons and Circumstances Besides, 'tis not want of Information, but want of punishing what they have Information of. A poor Man informs against a great Man, the Witness is diff couraged, the Man goes unpunish'd, and the poor Man gets the Scandal of an Informer; and then't buttoo often, that our Justices are not Men of extraol dinary Morals themselves; and who shall inform a la flice of the Peace that fuch a Man Swore, when he man be heard to Swear himself as fast as another? Or who shall bring a Man before a Justice for being Drunk when the Justice is so Drunk himself, he cannot orde him to be fet in the Stocks?

Fact he himself sees committed, and to enquire into any he hears of casually; and if he will stand still and see those Acts of Immorality committed before his Face, who shall bring a poor Man before him to be punished? Thus I have heard a Thousand home Oaths sworn on a Bowling-Green, in the Presence of a Justice of the Peace, and he take no notice of it, and go home the next hour, and set a Man in the Stock for being Drunk.

As to the Scandal of Informing, 'tis an Error in Ga from, and a great Sin against Justice; 'tis necessary in deed that all Judgment should be according to Evidence, and to discourage Evidence is to discourage strice; but that a Man in Trial of the Morality of his Neighbour, should be assumed to appear, must have

Iome particular Caufe.

(1.) It proceeds from the modifiness of the Vice it has so obtain'd upon some Men's Practice, that appear

CP

fh;

1 25

100

ces.

001

dif.

100

'ii

201-

Jumay

who

unk

rde

any

into

e hi

orrid ce of

rock

» Ca

7 in

Evi

ge Ju

hav

Vice

ppea

ppear against almost what all Men Approve, seems Malicious, and has a certain prospect either of Revenge, or of a Mercenary Wretch, that Informs meerly to get Reward. 'Tis true, if no Reward be plac'd upon an alternation, no Man will take the trouble; and again, stoo great a Reward, Men of Honour shun the thing, ecause they scorn the Fee, and to Inform meerly for he Fee, has something of a Rascal in it too; and om these Reasons arises the Backwardness of the cople.

The very same Rich Men we speak of, are the Permis who discourage the Discovery of Vice by scandizing the Informer; a Man that is any thing of Gentleman scorns it, and the Poor still Mimick the umour of the Rich, and hate an Informer as they do to detect the Breach of those Laws, which they are not assamed to make, but the very Name of an some has gain'd so black an Idea in the Minds of ople, because some who have made a Trade of intended and the missen are missen and the missen an

But the main thing which makes our Gentlement ckward in the profecution of Vice, is their practig the same Crimes themselves; and they have so the wicked Modesty, and Generosity in them, being my no Enemies to the thing it self, that they cannot the any fort of Freedom punish in others what they clice themselves.

the Times of Executing the Laws against Disters, we found a great many Gentlemen very Vigos in Prosecuting their Neighbours; they did not appear in Person to disturb Meetings, and delish the Meeting Houses, and rather than fail, would

be Informers themselves; the Reason was, because they had also a dislike to the thing, but we never found a Diffenting Gentleman, or Justice of the Peace, forward to do thus, because they approved of it. Now were our Gentlemen, and Magistrates, real Enemies to the Immoralities of this Age, did they really hate Drunkenness as a Vice, they would be forward and zealous to root the Practice of it out of the Neighbourhood: they would not be backward, or asham'd to detectivice disturb Drunken Assemblies, to disperse those Plantations of Leachery, the publick Bawdy House, which are almost as openly allow'd as the Burdelloein Italy. They would be willing to have all forts of Vices suppress'd, and glory in putting their Hands to the Work; they would not be asham'd to appear in the detecting Debauchery, or afraid to embroil themselves with their Rich Neighbours. 'Tis Guilt of the fame Fact which makes Connivance, and till that Guilt be removed, the Genlemen of England neither will, or can, indeed, with any kind of Honour, put their Hand to the reforming it in their Neighbours.

le

ft C

be

th

Sc

ed

tle

for

on ter

La

Wo

and

for of

Sol

But, I think, 'tis easie to make it appear that this difficulty of Informing may be removed, and there need not be much occasion for that Scandalous Employment.

Tis in the Power of the Gentry of England to Reform the whole Kingdom, without either Laws, Proclamations, or Informers; and without their Concurrence, all the Laws, Proclamations, and Declarations the World will have no Effect; the Vigour of the Laws confifts in their Executive Power: Ten thousands Acts and Parliament fignifie no more than one fingle Proclamation, unless the Gentlemen, in whose Hands the Execution of those Laws is placed, take care to see them distribution of those Laws is placed, take care to see them distribution of equal Rewards but by an Impartial Distribution of equal Rewards

they

nd a

vere

the un-

ous

od;

ice,

Hofe

iles,

in

ices the

the

me be

10

nds

ere

11-

and Punishments, without Regard to the Quality and Degree of the Persons? The Laws push on the Justices now, and they take care to go no faster than they are driven; but would the Justices push on the Laws, Vice would fly before them, as Dust in the Wind, and Immoralities would be soon suppress'd; but it can never be expected that the Magistrates should push on the Laws to a free Suppression of Immoralities, till they Reform themselves, and their Great Neighbours Reform themselves, that there may be none to Punish, who are too big for the Magistrate to venture upon.

Would the Gentry of England decry the Modifiness of Vice, by their own Practice; would they but dash it out of Countenance, by disowning it; that Drunkenness and Oaths might once come into difefeem, and be out of Fashion, and a Man be valued the less for them; that he that will Swear and be Drunk. shall be counted a Rake, and not fit for a Gentleman's Company. This would do more to Reforming the rest of Mankind, than all the Punishments the Law can inflict; the Evil encreased by Example, and must be suppress'd the same way. If the Gentry were thus Reform'd, their Families would be so too: No Servant would be entertain'd, no Workman Employrd, no Shop-keeper would be Traded with by a Gentleman, but fuch, as like themselves, were sober and honest; a Lewd Vicious Drunken Footman must Reform or Starve, he would get no Service; a Servant once turn'd away for his Intemperance, would be Entertain'd by no Body else; a Swearing, Debauch'd Labourer, or Workman, must Reform, or no Bedy would Employ him; the Drunken, Whoring, Shopkeeper must grow Sober, or lose all his Customers, and be undone. Interest, and Good Manners, will reform us of the poorer fort, there would be no need of the Stocks, or Houses of Correction; we should be ober of Courfe, because we should be all Beggars X 3 elle;

else; and he that loved the Vice so dearly as to purchase it with the loss of his Trade and Employment would soon grow too Poor for his Vice, and be force to leave it by his own Necessities; there would be no need of Informers, a Vicious Fellow would be presently Notorious, he would be the Talk of the Town every one wou'd slight and shun him for fear of he ing thought like him, by being seen in his Company, he would Expose himself, and would be Punish'd and unpitied as a Thief.

Work of Reformation, lies on the Shoulders of the Gentry; they are the Cause of our Defection, which being taken away, the Effect would cease of Course Vice would grow scandalous, and all Mankind would be asham'd of it.

(2.) The Clergy also ought not to count themselve exempted in this matter, whose Lives have been, and in some places still are so vicious, and so loose, that it is well for England, we are not subject to be much Priest-ridden.

Tis a strange thing how it should be otherwise than it is with us the poor Commonalty, when the Gentry our Pattern, and the Clergy our Teachers, are as Immoral as we. And then to consider the Coherence of the thing; the Parson preaches a thundering someon against Drunkenness, and the Justice of Peace sets me poor Neighbour in the Stocks, and I am like to be much the better for either, when I know perhaps that this same Parson and this same Justice, were both Drunk together the Night before.

It may be true, for ought we know, that a Wick ed Parson may make a good Sermon; and the Span Proverb may be true of the Soul, as well as of the Body

but this does not take with the down-right Ignorant people in the Country, a poor Man gets Drunk in a Country Ale House, Why are you not asham'd to be such Beast, says a good bonest Neighbour to him the next day? Asham'd, says the Fellow! Why should I be asham'd? Why, there was Sir John —— and Sir Robert —— and the Parson, and they were all as Drunk as I. And why a Beast, Pray? I heard Sir Robert —— fay, That

He that Drinks least,
Drinks most like a Beast.

PIII-

nent

D'orc'd

: no

pre-

OWn

be

any:

and

effer

high

urfe

ould

and that

nuch

wife

ohe Ser-

s 107

rfon. Vigh

ick

ody.

A Vicious Parson that preaches well, but lives ill, may be like an unskilful Horseman, who opens a Gate on the wrong side, and lets other Folks through, but huts himself out. This may be possible, but it seems most reasonable to think they are a means by that fort of living, to hinder both themselves and others; and would the Gentry and Clergy of England but look back on the Guilt that really lies on them, as Gentlemen by whose Example so great a part of Mankind has been led into, and encouraged in the Progress of Vice, they would find Matter of very serious reslection.

This Article of the Clergy may seem to lie in the Power of their Superiors to rectify, and therefore may be something more seasible than the other; But the Gentry are Sui juris, and can no way be reduc'd but by their own voluntary practice. We are in England exceedingly govern'd by Modes and Customs. The Gentry may effectually Suppress Vice, would they but put it out of Fashion; but to suppress it by Force seems impossible.

This Application of this rough Doctrine is, in short, both to the Gentry and Clergy, Physicians, Heal your X 4

ness first, if we do not follow you, then set us in the Stocks, and send us to the House of Correction, and punish us as you please; if you will leave off Whoring first, then Brand us in the Foreheads, or Transport or Hang us for Fornication or Adultery, and you are welcome; but to preach against Drunkenness, immediately after an Evening's Debauch; to Correct poor Fellow for Swearing with the very Vice in your Mouth; these are the unjustest ways in the World, and have in themselves no manner of tendency towards the Reformation of Manners, which is the true Design of the Law.

'Tis acknowledg'd, there are in England a great many Sober, Pious, Religious Perfons, both among the Gentry and Clergy, and 'tis hop'd fuch cannot think themselves Libell'd or Injur'd in this Plea; if then were not, Laws would never have been made again those Vices, for no Men make Laws to punish them-Telves; 'tis defign'd to reflect upon none but fuch a are Guilty, and on them no farther than to put them in mind how much the Nation owes its present Degen racy to their Folly, and how much it is in their Power to Reform it again by their Example; that the Kingma not publish Proclamations, nor the Parliament make Law to no purpose; but that we might live in England once more like Christians, and like Gentlemen, tob Glory of God, and the Honour of the present King and Parliament, who so publickly have attempted to Great Work of Reformation among us, tho' hitherton so little purpose.

In Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, in Cases of Preferment.

PREFACE to Mr. HOW.

SIR,

wd.

and hor-

rans.

your and s the

real

the hink

here

aint

hem-

nu

ene-

2W

010

These Sheets are address'd to you, because the Author, with Submission, thinks they something more nearly concern you, than ordinary:

1. As you are, not unjustly esteem'd, one of the most Learned and Judicious of the Dissenting Ministry. And

2. As you have more immediate Relation to our present Lord-Mayor, who is, or has been, a Member of the Church of Christ under your Charge:

The Author has carefully avoided Personal Reflections, and hopes he has no where exceeded the Rules of Charity, or Good

Manners.

The Treatise is individually the Same which the Author published in the Mayoralty of Sir Humphry Edwin; the Ad-

dress, by way of Preface, being only left out.

The Debate was then young, and the Practice of this Scandalous Conformity was new: Sir John Shorter being the first Instance of it. But it is now growing a received Custom, to the great Scandal of the Dissenters in general, the Offence of such whose Consciencies forbid them the same Latitude, and the Stumbling of those who being before weak

and irresolute, are led aside by the Eminency and Frequency

of Examples;

Sir, If you knew the Author, you would easily be satisfied that the Reason of this Preface, is not that he covers to make agage in Controversy with a Person of your Capacity and Learning, being altogether unsit for such a Task, and no way a Match to your Talent that way.

But he desires, in the Name of himself, and a great many honest good Christians, who would be glad to see this Case decided, That you will by your self, or some other Hand, as you please, declare to the World, Whother this Practice of Aleenate Communion be allow'd, either by your Congregation in

particular, or the Dissenters in general.

And if not so allow'd, then he conjures you by the Homm you owe to your Profession, and the Tenderness you have to the weakness of others; by the regard you have to God's Homour, and the Church you serve, That such Proceedings may receive their due Censure, tho' the Persons wear the Gay Cloubs, and the Gold Ring; that the Sincerity and Purity of Diserting Protestants may be vindicated to the World, both in the Discipline as well as Doctrine; and that without Respect of Persons.

If on the other hand it be allow'd, 'tis desired it may he defended by such Arguments as you think convenient; which the Author promises, if desired, never to reply to; or if you give him that Liberty, shall do it so, as you shall easily seen in order only to be inform'd, and always suitable to the Respect which is due to your Person; for whom none has

greater Esteem.

If none of these Requests shall be granted, the World must believe, That Dissenters do allow themselves to Practile what they cannot Defend.

Your very Humble Servant,

D. F.

ency

arn-

you ter-

in

10HZ

for

Hr

bs

en-

eir of

A Discourse upon Occasional Conformity.

WHEN I review the past Times, and look back upon the various Scenes which they present us, as to Ecclesiastical Transactions within this Kingdom, there seems nothing more strange than the Turns we have had from Popish to Regal Supremacy, from the Romish Religion to Reform'd, from Reform'd back again to Romish, and then to Reform'd again, and so on throseveral Degrees of Reformation, and back again from those Degrees to the first Steps of Reformation, and then forward again.

King Henry the Eighth, a Prince of a haughty Spirit, disdaining the Insolence with which his Predecessors were treated by the Popes, gave the first Shock to the Roman Power in these Kingdoms. I won't say he acted from any Principles of Conscience, whatever his Ambition and Interest led him to pretend; but that was the Gloss, as it is in most Cases of publick Revolutions. However it was, having fatisfy'd his Pride by Subduing the Supremacy of the Pope, and establishing his own; his Interest next guided him to the Suppresfion of Abbies and Monasteries. The horrible Vices which were protected, as well as practifed in those Nests of Superstition, giving his pretence of Piety the larger Scope; and I'll for once be so free with the Character of that Prince, as to suppose what to me seems plain, that neither This Religion, or That, were of much Moment in his Thoughts, but his Interest, as the Sequel made plain, by the Seizure he made of the Revenues of the Church. flum , Melor ? si fors, and the file of what domisally te

And yet the Justice of Providence seems very conspicuous in that point, That those Houses, who under the specious pretences of Religion, and extraordinary Devotion, had amassed to themselves vast Revenues to the Impoverishing many Families, and in the mean time secretly practised most unheard of Wickedness, should under the same pretence of Zeal and Piety be supposed fed and impoverished by a Person, who meerly to seem his own Glory, triumph'd over them, pretending Junishe, to show his Zeal for the Lord.

Some do assure us, That the Eyes of this Prince were really open'd, as to the Point of Religion; and that had he liv'd longer, he would most effectually have ablished the Reformation in his time; but God, who gave him that light, if he had it, however he might at cept his Intention, as he did that of David's Building his House, yet he reserv'd the Glory of the performance to his Son.

King Edward the Sixth, of whom wondrous Things are spoken in all our English Writers, and more than we need suppose should be literally true; yet was without doubt, a Prince of the strictest Piety, not only that ever reign'd, but that ever liv'd, perhaps, since the Days of Josiah, whose Parallel our Writers say he was

The Reformation began in his Hand; not but that the Protestant Religion had been received in England many Years before, by the preaching of John Wickliff William Tindall, and others, and had many Professionand those such who gallantly offered their Lives in defence of the Truth.

But it got but little ground, for Religion has but few Votaries, while all its Professors must also be Confessors, and while Exile or Martyrdom is all the prospect of Advantage to be got by it.

None

nder nary

s to

ime

bluc

ref.

erve

Tehu

rete

that

e e. vho

ing

nce

he

28

121

nid

if,

e-

None will dare to be Dissenters in times of Danger, but such whose Consciences are so awaken'd that they have not be otherwise.

But in the Hands of this young Prince, the great work was begun, and in a shorter time than could be imagin'd, was finish'd and establish'd, the Romanists sled or conformed; for we find but very few had an Inclination to Martyrdom, if it had been put upon them. Some, indeed, to show the Nature of their Religion, Pleaded for Baal, and Rebell'd, stirring up the Ignorant People to Murther their Gideon for throwing down the Alters of Baal; but like the Ephramites of old, their Shiboleth was their undoing.

God, who thought fit to discover the Levity of those who had only Conform'd, and not Reform'd, who, in exemplum Regis, took up this as they would have done any Religion, and also for the Trial and Glory of his Church, suffer'd all this great Fabrick, bowever of his own Working, to be overthrown at the Death of this good King, and a Deluge of Cruelty and Popery overwhelm'd the People in the Reign of the Queen, his Sister.

But Popery found more Dissenters than the Reformation had done; and the Impression Religion had made on the Minds of those who had sincerely Embrac'd it, was not so easily Defac'd as the pretended Reformation of others; for the Glosses Men had put on their Actions, only as a cover from common Observation, was soon Discover'd, when the Safety of owning their own Principles render'd those Outsides no longer needful, but where the true Religion had got sooting in the Mind, it was still the same, whatever Alterations of Times might make it Dangerous, and yet all people did not Burn; but some being persecuted in one City, sled

to another, and Germany especially was a Sanctuary for the Distressed English Protestants, that Country having been before hand with us in the Reformation.

to

N

b

t

"Twas here that our Exil'd Clergy having convers'd with the Learned Reformers abroad, and particularly with John Calvin, found, that tho' they were reform'd indeed from the Groß Errors of Popery and Superfiction, there was yet feveral Things which might be further and further Reform'd; and being willing to arrive to the greatest Perfection they were capable of in Religion, (that as near as possible they might pursue the great Example of Christ Jesus, whose Name they profess'd, and for whom they could most gloriously die) they Corrected in themselves those Things which they saw needful, and by Letters to their Brethren in England communicated their Opinions, with their Reasons, exhorting them to go on unto Perfection as they had begun.

Some of the most Zealous for Piety and Holinels of Life, rejected this Motion; and others as Zealous and Pious, clos'd with it; and the Disputes were carried fo far sometimes, as to Invade the Charity of one another, an humble Acknowledgment of which you have in a most Christian Reconciling Letter from Bishop Ridley to Bishop Hooper, two of the most glorious Triumphant Martyrs that ever confest the truth of Christ at the Stake.

For the present, the Fire of the Persecution (as the greater Light obscures the less) extinguish'd that of Dissertion. But when Queen Elizabeth rescu'd the Protestant Religion, and the Church enjoy'd its Peace again, the debate reviv'd: But the first Establishment of King Edward obtain'd so on the Minds of Men, that the further Resormation was rejected. The other Party being not at all convincid, though over-rul'd, submitted their

ing

rs'd

rly

n'd

ffi. Ur-

to

of

ur-

ne

ri.

gs

e.

th

n

d

d

eir Persons to the Laws, but not their Opinion: firming, "That 'twas the Duty of every Christian. to endeavour to ferve God with the greatest Purity of Worship as was possible; and that this was the purest Worship which came nearest to the Divine Institution, which they believ'd the establish'd Liturgy did not, and therefore in Conscience they must be Dissenters.

It must be own'd, That the Original Authors of hefe Disputes were Learned, Devout, and fingularly ious, strict in Conversation to Excess, if that be Possile, and from thence in a fort of happy Derision, vere call'd Puritans; of whom I shall say nothing, ut leave for a Record the last Speech of a Famous Foeigner, who had feen the way of living among those Differences, and speaking of the Words of Balaam, Let ne die the Death of the Righteous, and let my latter end e like his, cry'd Out, fine Lorerell to a cons

Sit Anima Mea cum Paritanis Anglicanis and, than the Court mid both Parity alor

I shall not take upon me to observe the Difference etween these Primitive Dissenters and Our Presents which is too plain; nor to dispute the Substance of he Point in Debate between them and the Establishe National Church, Escape at last opened, character and all

or an lim

now the goomon Tide I shall only observe, That the Reasons for the preent Dissenters Separation from the Establisht Church; are faid to be exactly the fame they were then; and he present Dissenters are the Successors of those first is the present Conformists are the Successors of the irst Reformers under King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Elizabeth. and I bas habitus de land to make

I must acknowledge that it fares with the Church of England, and with the Dissenters both, as it has That while Supprest and Persecuted their Professon were sew, and their Professon more severe; but when a Religion comes to be the Mode of the Country, so many painted Hypocrites get into the Church, who are not by their Faces to be distinguished, that Guile is not to be seen, till it arrive to Apostacy. The whole Ecclesiastical History, from the first Century of the Christian Church, is full of Instances to confirm this, That the Prosperity of the Church of Christ has been more satal to it, than all the Persecution of its Enemies.

I am now brought down to the present Time, when the Disserting Protestant is shelter'd by the Laws, and protected from the Violence which he suffered in the Late Reigns, under the Arbitrary Commands of such State Ministers, who strove to dash the whole Protestant Interest to pieces by its own weight; and not thing is more apparent to those who are any thing acquainted with the late Management of Affairs in this Land, than that the Court used both Parties alternantely, as Policy and Occasion directed, to Suppress and Destroy one another; that the whole House, which being so divided, cou'd not stand, might at last fall of it self.

But our Eyes are at last opened, the Name of Protestant is now the common Title of an Englishman, the Church of England extends her Protection to the tender Consciences of her Weaker Brethren, knowing that all may be Christians, tho' not alike inform'd and the Dissenter extends his Charity to the Church of England, believing, that in his due time, God sale reveal even this unto them. If this is not, I wish this were the Temper of both Parties; and I am sure it is already the Temper of some of each side, which sew are of the wiest, most Pious, and most Judicious.

To

ke

he

A

ire

on

t t

I

me

en

But while Frailty and Infirmity are Essential to Hunanity, and Pride and Hypocrify are the two Regnant lices of the Church, this good Spirit cannot be Univer-

al, and we do not expect it.

E 000 T

d

of

04

in he

में के के में

But there is a fort of Truth, which all Men owe to the principles they profets, and generally speaking, all Men ay it; a Turk is a Turk zealously and entirely; an Idoater is an Idolater, and will ferve the Devil to a Tittle: lone but Protestants halt between God and Baal; Chritians of an Amphibious Nature, who have fuch preposteous Consciences, as can believe one way of Worship obe right, and yet serve God another way themselves? This is a strange thing in Israel! All the Histories of Reigion in the World do not shew such a Case: 'Tis like Ship with her Sails hal'd some back and some full: 'Tis ke a Workman that Builds with one Hand, and pulls own with cother: 'Tis like a Fisherman, who catches ish with one Hand, and throws them into the Sea with nother: 'Tis like every thing which fignifies nothing." To fay a Man can be of two Religions, is a Contradiction, hless there be two Gods to Worship, or he has two ouls to fave.

Religion is the sacred Profession of the Name of God; roing him, believing in him, expecting from him; and ke the God it refers to, 'tis in one and the same Object, no and the same thing perfectly indivisible and inseparate; there is in it no Neuter Gender, no Ambiguous

rticle, God or Baal; Mediums are impossible.

As to the different Modes and Ways, which are the ircumstantials of this Sacred Thing I call Religion, I on't say, but that as Ships take different Courses at Sea, it to the best of their Skill keeping to the direct Rules Navigating by the Compass, they may arrive at the me Port; so Christians taking different Methods in the rving this God, yet going to the best of their Judgents by the direct Rules of the Scripture, may arrive at

^{*} This does not however Argue that the Dissenters and the urch-men profess two Religions, as some have pretended.

the same Heaven; but this is nothing at all to the Case; for no Ship would arrive at any Port that sailed two ways together, if that were possible; nor no man can serve one God, and at the same time hold two Opinions. There is but one Best, and he that gives God two Bests, gives him the Best and the Worst, and one Spoils tother, till

both are good for nothing.

I have faid already, that both the Church of England, and the Diffenter, fuffer in their Reputation for the min Multitudes of their Members, which is occasion'd by their present Prosperity: If a Third Party were to Tyrannize over them both, we should see then who were Professor. and who were Confessors; but now it cannot be: Wherefore, I think 'twere well to put both Sides in mind of one thing, which they are bound mutually to observe; and that is, That the Personal Miscarriages of any particular lar Person or Member, is not really any Reflection upon the Religion they profess, nor ought not to be so accounted, unless it be where such Miscarriages are the direct Dictates of the Doctrines they teach; and thus I would be understood in the present Case. Wherefore I shall give my Essay as to what I understand a Real Dissenting Protestant is, or ought to be.

He who Dissents from an Establish'd Church on any account, but from a real Principle of Conscience, is a Politick, not a Religious Dissenter. To explain my self; He who Dissents from any other Reasons, but such as these, That he firmly believes the said Established Church is not of the purest Institution, but that he can really serve God more agreeable to his Will, and that accordingly 'tis his Duy to do it so, and no otherwise. Nay, he that cannot Dye or at least desire to do so, rather than Conform, ought to Conform. Schism from the Church of Christ is doubtes a great Sin, and if I can avoid it, I ought to avoid it, but if not, the Cause of that Sin carries the Guilt with

it.

* But if I shall thus Dissent, and yet at the same time Conform

^{*} This all our Answerers never yet attempted to Disprove.

Conform; by Conforming I deny my Differit being lawful, or by my Differting I damn my Conforming as fin-

Nothing can be lawful and unlawful at the same time; if it be not lawful for me to Dissent, I ought to Conform; but if it be unlawful for me to Conform, I must Dissent; several Opinions may at the same time consist in a Country, in a City, in a Family, but not in one entire Person;

that is impossible.

for

ays One

ere.

ves till

ixt

eir ize

ors,

re-

of

ve;

ed,

Di-

ick,

To come to the point; there are Dissenters who are separated from the Church of England, and join'd in Communion with Diffenting Churches or Congregations. They have appear'd Zealous, Conscientious, and Constant; have born the Reproaches and Inconveniences of their Party ; nay, fuffer'd Persecution, and loss of Estates and Liberty for the Cause: And who could have so little Charity as to doubt the Sincerity of their Profession? And yet these Persecuted, Suffering Dissenters, to make themselves room in the Publick Advancements, and Glittering Gawdy Honours of the Age, shall Conform to that which they refus'd under all those Disadvantages to do before. And which is worse than all this; bear O Heavens! as foon as the present Honour is attain'd, the prefent Advantage made, they return to the former Circumflances again, and are freely received, a double Crime, as having done no Evil.

I know not, I profess, what these Persons can say for themselves, and therefore cannot pretend to Answer their Objections; but I cannot omit one Answer which some People give for them, viz. That this is no Conformity in Point of Religion, but done as a Civil Action, in Obedience to the Laws of the Land, which have made it a necessary Characteristick Quality, for admittance into publick Employments, which they think it their Duty to accept in order to serve their Country, which they doubly person by Executing those Offices to the publick Interest, and by exclading those who would otherwise get into those places, and betray their Country and their Li-

berties.

I have never met with any confiderable Excuse made for this fast and loofe Game of Religion, but this, and

this I defire to confider a little particularly.

1. That this is no Conformity in Point of Religion, but done as a Civil Action. How this can be possible remains to be determined. 'Tis true, the Morality of an Action confifts in its End; but I cannot conceive that an Adion purely and fimply Religious, fuch as the Solem Ordinances of God's Worship, can be made Civil Adions by any End, Defign, Will, or Intention of Man whatfoever. 'Tis true, an Oath, which is a calling God to witness, is an Action both Civil and Religious, but still that was appointed and instituted to that end, as is

expressy noted. Heb.

Naaman's bowing in the House of Rimmon; to which the Prophet anwer'd, Go in Peace, which is understood as a permission, is a thing still different; for Naaman only bowed for the Conveniency or State of the King, at the same time publickly disowning the Worship, a Interpreters are of Opinion; besides, bowing the Head, tho it may be a customary Act of Worship at that place, yet is no Act confin'd to Worship only, and instituted and directed so by the God who is Worshipped, but is an Act us'd in Common Salutations. Thus we kneel to God and to the King; but Sacraments are things appropriated by the Divine Institution of God himself, as things which have no other Signification or Import but what is Divine: Had Naaman desir'd to be excus'd in offering Sacrifices to the Idol Rimmon, the Prophet would hardly have bid him go in peace. Some Actions are not Civil or Religious, as they are Civilly or Religiously perform'd, but as they are Civil or Religious in themselves; for some Religious Actions are so intirely such, that they cannot without a horrid invalion of the Sovereignty of the Institutor be appropriated to any other use; and such are in especial manner, the Two Sacraments instituted by Christ, such was, before Christ, the Sacrifices by Fire; And the Judgments of God on Nadab and Abiba, for attempting to offer Sacrifice with strange Fire, stands

as a terrible Instance of what we ought to think is the Will

of God in this matter.

nd

one

to

lon.

di-

ma

i.

lan

od

JUC

İS

d

Further Speaking directly of the Sacraments, are they not the fame thing, tho' differently administred in the establish'd Church, or in a diffenting Church? and how can you take it a a Civil Act in one place, and a Religious Act in another? This is * playing-Bopeep with God Almighty, and no Man can tell of them when they are about a Civil Action, and when about a Religious. But to answer this Pretence at once. Sacraments as Sacraments are Religious Acts, and can be no other, if you do not take it as a Sacrament the Case differs, but how can you say you do not take it as a Sacrament? An Oath is to be taken in the Sense of the Imposer, and a Sacrament, which is a Recognition of the most Sacred of Oaths, must be also taken in the Sense of the Imposer. If the Person Administring declar'd at the Administration, He did not give it as a Sacrament, but only give you a bit of Bread and draught of Wine as a Friend, or the like, this was something; but can a Minister deliver the Bread to you, and say, The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. and you Kneeling with-Reverence take it as such, and repeat the Responses at the Communion, and fay Amen to the Prayer, and fay 'tis a Civil Action. This is fuch Bantering with Religion, as no Modest Christian can think of without Horror.

2. Another part of the Apology is, that without it they cannot be admitted into Publick places of Trust; and if they were not admitted, such will get in as will betray their Country and Liberties, and they do it purely to secure

their Country, which they think their Duty.

These are Patriots indeed, that will damn their Souls to save their Country; a sort of a Publick Spirit hardly to be found in the World, and indeed a Non-entity in it self, for tis a Mistake; the Gentlemen who make this Answer put the case wrong. For I would desire such to Answer a few Questions.

Y 3

This is meant of taking the S crament, as a Civil Action, and not of taking it as a Sacrament; as Mr. How and others mistook it.

If the Service of their Country be to dear to them, pray why should they not chuse to expose their Bodies and E.

states for that Service, rather than their Souls?

The Penalty of the Law in accepting the Publick Employments is wholly Pecuniary, the difference lies here they chuse the Trespassing on their Consciences, before the bazard of their Estates, as the least Evil; * for its plain, any Man who will suffer the Penalty, or run the Risque of it, which is all one, may excuse the Conformity; for the Law does not say, you shall so and so Conform, but it you do not Conform, you shall incur such and such Penalties; any Man that will incur the Penalty, may commit the Trespass.

So that all this Compliance is not to be admitted to Places, that they may be able to ferve their Country, but to fave the Five hundred pounds and other Penalties of

that Act.

2. Why, if we believe the Power of God to be Omnipotent, should we imagine that he is not able to proted our Country and Liberties, without our perpetrating so wicked an Act to secure them, as doing Evil that Good may

come, which is expresly forbiden.

But we are told again, this is in it self no Sinful Ad, and therefore it is not doing Evil. This is tacitly answered before; tho? tis not a sinful Act in it self, Tet is either a Sinful Act in a Dissenter, or else his Dissenting in Gonforming now, why did he not before? There is his one Answer for that, which is, He is otherwise convinced; to which I reply, If that were true, he would then as a Convert continue in this New Communion; but it evident the same Persons return immediately to the former Profession as Dissenters, and they can have no such Excuse, unless it be, that they were convinced and reconvinced, and then convinced again.

Some have the Folly to argue against the Law it self, a

^{*} This they never Answer'd yet, when they Talk of Usefulmy as the Pretence of Conformity.

a most Notorious Imposition upon the Consciences of Menby making the Sacred Institutions of Christ a Drudge to Secular Interest, and a Cause of mens Sins, by leading them into Temptation; * I could fay enough to vindicate that part, tho' I am no more reconcil'd to that Law than other Men, but 'tis remote to our Argument: 'Tis an Act of Parliament, and what is fo, is of every Man's own doing, and therefore 'tis just every one should comply with the Terms, or fuffer the Penalty; but here is no Penalty, if no Crime; if no Preferments are sought, no Honours accepted, there is no Crime; if Self-denyal was as practicable as Self-advancement, here is no need of the Crime. So that they who do this, feek the Crime, that is the first Sin; then Morgage their Consciences to avoid the Penalty. and fo add one Sin to another. But we are told by fome, 'tis not against their Consciences, they hope both Parties are Good Christians, there are differences between them which they don't understand nor meddle with, and their Consciences are very well satisfied to Communicate with either.

re,

iny

it,

the

al-

Dit

ut

I would ask fuch, if their Consciences would serve to Communicate with the Church, why did they Separate? For Communicating with the Diffenter, is not an Occasional or Casual thing, but an open declar'd breaking off from the Church Establisht. Now no Man can be said to separate from, and join to a thing at the same time; if your Conscience is satisfied in Joining, it cannot be satished in Separating, unless you can suppose your Conscience to be satisfied and dissatisfied both together. If you have a Conscience of any Religion at all, it must be of some Religion or other; if of this, it cannot be of that, if of that, it cannot be of this; to Consent and Approve, are different Acts, and can never be fixt upon the same Object at the same time; as for a Man, Passively Religious, that can Communicate any where, that Man may

^{*} The Author of this, has openly Exploded that Law, with the Occasion and Manner of making it, Vid. P. without Union, by way of Answer to-Sir Humph. Mackworth.

To:

ise

TE

an

M

iffe

ple

no

ne

2 3

T

er

ur

en

nd

in

DU

ro

from the same Principle, and with far less Guilt Communicate no where, for such a Man, in down-right English has Prostituted the little Religion he had, if ever be bad any, to his Interest, and may be Turk, Jew, Papist, or any

thing.

The latter part of the Charge leads me to consider another Point, which relates to the Assemblies of the Disferers, who admit, and by consequence approve this way of proceeding. I do not pretend to examine by what Methods such particular Churches do proceed. And I would be as tender as possible in making Resections. I wish they would be as Charitable in censuring this Re-

proof.

I do think, with Submission, 'cis impossible to prove that any Person, whose Case the foregoing Paragraph reaches, can be receiv'd again into Church-Communion in a Dissenting Assembly upon any other Terms, than as a Penitent. I have heard of some, who have been said to have leave from their Ministers for this Matter *; if so, they have assum'd some Dissensing Authority, which I believe does not appertain to the Ministerial Function, nor is not contain'd in the Mission of our Saviour. But I do not affirm, That any such thing has been really allow'd.

As to the Relation of Churches, and the Members thereof, one to another, as the Dissenters now Establish'd them; I am sure, the allowance of any Member in a Promiscuous Communion with the Church of England, and the Dissenter at the same time, is not pretended to be allow'd, nor is it consistent with it self. 'Tis Preposterous, and Excentrick, and is Destructive of the very Foundation of the Dissenters Principles, as is already noted, concerning Schisms in the Ghurch. In this Case, Charlty can heal nothing, nor help nothing; 'tis of absolute necessity that one Man be but of one side, at one and the same time. Either the Conformist will mar the Dissenter, or the Dissenter will mar the Conformist.

r if I shall be admitted into the Communion of the islenter, and of the Church together; then the Dissenter must have some other Reason for being a Dissenter,

an Purity of Worship.

11-

B.

10

17

y

It

Methinks Men should seem what they are; if a Man iffent from the Church, let him do so; and his Prinple being well grounded for such Dissent, let him hold it; not well-grounded, let him leave it; if he cannot suffer ne way, lef him suffer another; and why should we not

as honest to God as our Country.

The Motives to serve our Country are strong, but sere are ways to do it without such a Violation of all ar Principles and Profession; if not, trust God's Provience with the Issue, who never wants Agents to preserve ad deliver his People when his time is at hand; and you in have small hope to expect that the Office and Trust ou shall Execute, shall receive any Assistance from his rovidence, when the first Step into it, is made by offerg the greatest Affront to his Honour, and committing the vilest Act of Persidy in the World.

But if the gay Prospect of a great Place, it tempt any erson beyond the Power that God's Grace is pleas'd to list them with, in that way let him abide, and not be remitted, because of his Gold Ring, and Fine Apparel, ithout a Penitent Acknowledgment. The Dissenters England can never pretend to be Dissenters upon the cre Principle of Purity of Worship, as I have related the beginning of this Discourse, it such shall be received blameless into their Communion, who have deserted can upon the occasion of Preferment, and have made

the

The By this it appears, the Objector means Chiefly those who onform meerly for Places and Preferments, and therefore those to thrust him upon the Argument of Occasional Conformity of a Dissenters, as such; seem'd only thereby to Evade the force the present Debate, which was Aim'd wholly at such as Conmid purely as a Qualification; and the Title proves his Demin which 'tis expressly Call'd, An Enquiry into the Occannal Conformity of Dissenters, in case of Preferment.

the Sacred Institutions of Christ Jesus, become Pimps their Secular Interest, and then wipe their Mouths, as fit down in the Church, and say, They have done no Evil

'Tis also an intolerable Affront to the Church of Endand, reflecting upon its Doctrine as well as Practice; make use of the Church for a Cover to sence them again the Laws, at the same time continuing to disown its Company to the Church same time continuing to disown its Company to the Church same time continuing to disown its Company to the Church same time continuing to disown its Company to the Church same time continuing to disown its Company to the Church same time continuing to the Church of Endand the En

munion, as a thing not fit to be continued in.

And yet the Church of England is in the right to a ceive such of the Dissenters as shall come to them without the Ceremony of Recognition, because it is agreeable to the Notion of a National Church, which they profess to be. But Dissenters are bound to justifie their Separate from them, or else their whole Constitution falls to the Ground. Now, how a Separation and a Conformity of the ceives the conformity of the ceives the ceives are the ceives and the conformity of the ceives and the ceives are the ceives are the ceives and the ceives are the ceives and the ceives are the ceives and the ceives are
Confistent, is to me an inexplicable Riddle.

I question not here the Lawfulness of the Dissente Separation; it is not the business of this Discourse define it; and I am as careful as I can in making Rell Aions upon either; but I am bold to affirm, That no Di fenting Church can with lawful Cause Separate from the Church of England, Establish Private Churches Communions, and at the fame time allow the Member to Conform to the Establish'd Church too: This is it congruous, and one must destroy the other. From when I think it becomes the Dissenters, if they would maintain the Doctrine they teach; if they would have us belief they Diffent purely on the honest Principles of Confo ence, and Purity of Worship, with such a one, No," to Eat. And it is not sufficient that the Offender a Lon Mayor, or any greater Person; unless he would be Lor Mayor without a Breach of the Sacred Relation he la entred into, he should be dealt with in that Case, as it meanest Member of such a Society.

On the other hand, if a Man be call'd upon to be a Man giftrate, and has Courage enough to follow the Impanion Dictates of his Conscience, a Query lies before him, What

shall he do ? -

The Case is plain; Either refuse the Honour, or run !

ps t

Evil.

En

e;

gan

Con

to n

ithou

ble w

els n

to the

enter

rle f

Reli

o Di

from

nes a

15 in

hend

intain

elievi

onla

10, 11

Lon

Lord

e M

is th

a Ma

artu

Whi

isqu

law. The first indeed is the plainest and easiest Way. d the Ground of it is good, for he whose Conscience idates to him that the Terms are Sinful, may refuse the all; for Preferments and Honours are a Bait that fome ve refused on meer Points of Speculative Philosophy; d'tis hard, Christianity shou'd not carry a Man as far. Vell, but perhaps a Man has a mind to be a Sheriff or a ord Mayor, and is a Diffenter; or perhaps he really links vis his indispensable Duty to serve his Country, if e is call'd to that, or the like Office; or perhaps he hinks 'tis a Duty he owes his Family to advance his Chilren, and the like, and he is a Profest Differeer: What hall he do? Let him boldly run the Rifque, or openly nd honestly Conform to the Church, and neither be aham'd of his Honour, nor of his Profession; such a Man ll Men will Value, and God will own: He need not fear arrying the Sword to a Conventicle, or bringing the Conventicle to his own House. But to make the mater a Game, to dodge Religions, and go in the Morning o Church, and in the Afternoon to the Meeting; to Communicate in private with the Church of England, to ave a Penalty, and then go back to the Diffenters and Communicate again there: This is such a Retrograde Devotion, that I can see no colour of pretence for in all the Sacred Book.

I have heard, indeed, that some, who are Ministers of Disserting Churches, do, or did at the same time Communicate with the Church of England. † I do not dispute how far a Minister may Conform as a Lay-man, tho' he cannot as a Clergy-man; but how any Disserting Minister can Conform as a Lay-man, and at the same time execute a Pastoral Charge over a Congregation, whom he

f Dr. Bates, Mr. Vink, and several others, always did so.

^{*} This all along proves that the first Design of this Dispute was bent at Conformity only, as a Qualification; which Cause they have all since given up.

(1322)

teaches to Separate from the Church in a Lay-Comm

on, I cannot Imagine. The best of to best of

Tis not as I have already noted, Conformity or No conformity at the same time, in one and the same Perfe that is the Point; and doing this for a Secular End, fave a Penalty, and privately; and then, as bring allam of it, to go back and fit down as not having me it all; and a Church Society admitting this without the notice of it; thefe are the Contradictions I must infift upon and rather wish, than expect to see rectified.

Here the Author's Design is plainly Exprest, and Cannot be just in our Answerer not to observe it. In Conform to the Church and neighbor has

for dof his Honour, not of his Professional Gods a Man Il Men will Value, and God will over the north nor line longing the Sword to a Convenied or bringing the Unventicle to his own Poule. Hat to make the water ma Game, to Hodge Religious, and go in the Mundag

W Charel, and in the A rection to ite- Meeting to

he a Penalty, and then go buck to the Different and

dealer affaire there: I his is firther Receipt use that I can fee no colour or process or or a last

in that Hayland I have out differen

stall and an exclusive and the controlling station whether a Large whether

Conford Contraction and Conford all a winned the new wait seel :

E COSTON PRO E

sign de indeed, what lone, with an Mindeed, of

n

Companies line bib to to proma LET.

to you. I closely the

LETTER to Mr. HOW,

By Way of REPLY

TO HIS

CONSIDERATIONS

OF THE

PREFACE

TO AN

of Dissenters.

SIR.

felf in the Five first Pages of your Book, with the Aversion you have to any thing which shou'd atterrupt you in your more Recluse Studies; I presume no san cou'd imagine you would break thorough your own seasures to attack a poor Prefacer, as you call me, and wholly quitting the Argument, amuse the World, and ontent your self to Lash the Author with the Severity of our Wit.

Herein, Sir, I must own, that not only your Opponent, ut all the Town seem Disappointed exceedingly, that str. How, who thinks the Subject not worth Answering, hou'd trouble his Head, or spend his Time about the mpertinence of a sorry Prefacer.

When

If

ho

an

vit

bell

nie

Me

I

vho

find

Ch

Ref

to

wit

wh

00

De

Tr

and

Ch

DO

the

gui

kne

im:

my

lin

the

When I Address'd the Preface to you, I thought I had fo carefully Revis'd both it and the Book, that, as I mention'd to you, I cou'd no where be Tax'd with Exceed

ing the Rules of Charity and good Manners.

And the' I would always make them both my Ruly yet I thought my felf oblig'd to it no more now than ord narily, by how much the person to whom, and the persons of whom I wrote, were equally known and ver much valued by me; and I did not question but I shoul either not be Reply'd to at all, or it would be done with the Charity of a Christian, the Civility of a Gentlema and the Force and Vigour of a Scholar.

But since it seems good to you, Sir, to descend so to below your self as to quit the Dispute offer'd, and so upon me personally, and to mix Raillery and Reprose with your Argument, which, I am sure, you know too me to think it betters the Cause: You must blame your self, Si for Obliging me in my own Desence to be a little fre with you than otherwise I shou'd have thought had be

come me.

Non, Sir, shou'd I have engag'd with you, even in a own Defence, knowing I am to struggle with so uneque a Match both as to your Learning and Reputation, had not seen your Book differ so much from your constant Character; and pardon me, Sir, for the Word, in ma Places from the Truth.

And fince I am oblig'd thus publickly to Animade upon my Superiors, for fuch I own you to be both

Learning and Office.

I shall ask your Leave to lay down several Mistake upon which I must be allow'd to suppose you have go in the Censures which you have made; which Supposition I draw from the whole Tenour of your Writing.

I presume, Sir, that you are mistaken in these for Points, in the Person, Temper, Profession, and Intention

the Author.

Which Mistakes, I shall venture to suppose, are Reasons which moved you to treat your Adversary of fo much indecent Contempt.

As to my Person and Temper: 'Tis true, Sir, I have hosen to conceal my Name: and tho' bating Humane railty, Sins and Missortunes, I know no Reason why the argument should be asham'd of the Author, or the Author of the Argument: Yet when I consider'd how contant a practice, it is in the world to Answer an Argument with Recriminations instead of Reasonings, I thought it self to continue retir'd, that the Case I had enter'd upon hight not come clogg'd with the dead Weight of the Meannels and Impersections of the Author.

I need not go back to the Instance of our Saviour, whose Arguments were Confronted with the Contempt of that Question, Is not this the Carpenter's Son? For I and that even Mr. How himself wou'd have search'd my Character to have compleated his Remarks with Personal

Reflections.

And yet I cannot imagine what Relation my Name has to the Argument; it cou'd be only useful to furnish you with something in my Character to Reproach me with; which, God knows, you might have found enough of.

But what wou'd all this be to the Point in hand? The Occasional Conformity of Dissenters is not Condemn'd or Desended by the Names of Authors on either side, but by

Truth, Scripture, and Reason.

Thou wast altogether born in Sin, says the High-Priest, and the Elders of the Sanbedrim to the Poor Man whom Christ had healed; and doest thou Teach us? And yet the poor Man was in the Right; and if I am so, tho? I was the meanest and most scandalous of Scriblers, is my Argument the worse?

But, Sir, to Answer all those Particulars, and let you know that I am not altogether so shy of my Name as you imagine, I shall give you a Genuine honest Account of my

felf, and then my Name is at your Service.

First, Sir, I am to tell you, that I am, and acknowledge my self to be, posses'd with a strong Aversion to Doubling and Shifting in Points of Religion; and do think that the Case in hand is to be allow'd no less: And therefore wrote the Enquiry with two very honest Designs, viz.

To see if by Strength of Argument I cou'd receive Satisfaction; and to Explode, and, as far as in me lies, to Op.

pose the Practice.

Secondly, Had your Book given me, or any Body else that I can meet with, whose Judgment is to be valued, the Satisfaction I desir'd; I assure you, I am so little fond of an Opinion, because it is mine, that I shou'd not have been assamed to have own'd my self mistaken; and possibly have shown as much Humility in Acknowleding it, as you think I have Pride in Opposing.

As to Personal Miscarriages and Missortunes, of which no Man has more, and which, perhaps may weaken the Reputation of the Author, but I am sure ought not of my Argument: To them I shall only say, God in his Merciful Providence has beal'd the Last, and, I hope has Pardon'd the First: And if so, I am upon even Terms in point

to

of Reasoning.

By this you may see I am sensible of the Beam in my own Eye, and have for some years taken up the part of Penitent on that very Account; but did never understand that thereby I was barr'd from Enquiring into what judg'd Scandalous to the Profession of a Party in General, of whom, though unworthy, I was a Member.

Nor, Sir, am I any where guilty of Judging another, where the Case is not so plain, as that it really seems to speak it self; For I must remember also, that we are more to call Good, Evil, or Evil Good, than we are to

Judge one another.

Thus, Sir, I am gone over my own Character; and shall only demand this from you of Right, That, so far as Truth and Honesty is on my side, it may not, not ought not to be despised for being ushered in by an unworthy instrument.

And 'tis strange, Sir, that you who Animadvert upon me for Judging, should so severely judge me, and that wrongfully too, as shall appear in the Particulars of this

short Discourse.

I cou'd not be satisfi'd to say less to this point on these Accounts, because I must put in a Caveat against Personal

Reflections as unfair in the Dispute: He that pleases first to Confute the Argument, is welcome to show his Wit in Satyrizing upon the Follies and Afflictions of the Author: And there I leave it, and proceed to what I conceive is your third Mistake about me.

Viz. My Profession. And this you seem to make plain, while from the 13th, to the 24th page, you treat me as an Independent, and spend your time to Reply to the particular Tenents in dispute between You and Them; which, with Submission, I conceive to be nothing at all

to the purpose.

fe

of

en

ly

00

ch

he

ny

Ci-

14

nt

ny

f

nd

ŧΙ

al,

er,

to

00

to

fat

10-

100

hat

his

efe nal

16-

After this, P. 30, 31, 32, I am talk'd with as a Fifth Monarchy man, and Leveller; what of these Principles any where appears in the Enquiry, I confess I am at a loss to know; nor, Sir, have you been so kind to lay it down.

Indeed I own my self somewhat surprized to see you run on in Answering the scrupulous Independent about Kneeling at the Sacrament, and the Extravagant Fifth Monarchyman, about seizing the Properties of Mankind for the use of the Saints; and such things as these, by way of Reply to an Enquiry about Occasional promiscuous Conformity: and am still at a Loss to find an Antecedent to this Relative.

I affure you I am no Independent, nor Fifth Monarchy. nan, nor Leveller. You have shown your I earning, Sir, nd Confuted an Error inconfiftent with Civil Society very well; but this had been better done by it felf; it had no more relation to the Case in hand, than a Lecture gainst the Alchoran; and you may as well conjecture me o be a Mahometan, as a Fifth Monarchy-man, from any hing in the Book that looks like either. But, Sir, fince am led by you to give an account of my Profession. which, I hope I shall always be ready to do; I shall do t in few words: That I am of the same Class, and in the same Denomination of a Diffenter with your self, four Office excepted, and am willing to be guided by, nd to practife the Great Rule of Christian Charity in all he proper and legal Excents of it: lodeed I have more leed to practife it than you, because I stand more in need of it from others, with respect to the Causa already nam'd. And however, by wresting Words, and mistaking my Intentions, you are pleased to see nothing of it; I am not yet convinc'd that I have broken that Great Christian Rule of Charity, in any thing I have written.

I come now to the Fourth Thing in which you are mistaken, which is in my Intentions; in which you rashly, and, I assure you, wrongfully judge me, however cantious you wou'd have me be of judging others: But, Sir, Humanum est Errare; you are no more infallible, I se, than I, and are fallen into the same rash Error you Reprove me for with so much Severity; by judging, that the principal Design of this Book was to reslect upon a Worthy Gentleman, who is nam'd in the Preface: And in one place you are pleased to join me with the Party who Oppos'd him, and bring me in making my Court to them.

All these, Sir, I shall make appear to be not only Mestakes, but groundless Mistakes; such as nothing but to same Thoughts which put you out of Temper, could be you into: And I can solemnly Appeal in the Form you have set down, that you have wrong'd me in your Contract of the same in your Contract of the your contra

fure.

First, Sir, the Enquiry was published in the Mayorals of Sir Humph. Edwin, Three years ago, and therefore could not be designed as a Personal Invective against the Gentleman you speak of; and this the Presace told you you had pleased to read it. All that can be said, is That the Cause being again given, the Reprinting it was designed a Reproof to the Practice, and so much I own. As to Persons I am indifferent; if the Coat sits any Body, let the wear it.

Secondly, Sir, I declare my felf, if of any Party, In and ever was for the English Liberty, and for the putt such Men into Magistracy, who, in Concurrence with the King, our Supream Magistrate, would protect a preserve that Liberty. And, as a Person every way plifted to execute a Trust of so much Honour, when profitable or not, I won't examine, I gave my Vote.

Sir Thomas Abney, and shou'd ha' done so, If I had the power of Ten Thousand Voices; and no Man has more Respect for, or Opinion of his Honesty and Ability than my self: Nor have I, God be thank'd, any Occasion to say this to flatter him; for I neither want his Favour, nor fear his Anger.

Herein therefore I presume to say you have been entirely mistaken; and these Errors have led you to waste your Time, and the Reader's too, in making needless Remarks, and Answering those People who never Oppos'd

you.

0-

316

17.

Sir.

(ee

Re.

that

on a

And

wbo

em.

Mi-

t the

1 400

Cen

ralt

efor

ft the

00,1

at th

n'da

Asfo

t that

In

outu

WI

क्ष अ

y qu

hell

ote

I come now to that part of your Book which respects the Case in hand; which, as it is the least part, and indeed seems to agree with the Title, that it is only a Consideration of the Presace; for really with submission, there is very little Answer to the Fast: So it requires not that I shou'd Reply to the Argument; for I see none, but that drawing back the Curtain which you have spread over the Subject, I shou'd set it in a True Light, that all Men may judge by their own Consciences, and the Scripture-Rule, and take care they be not distinguish'd out of their Reason and Religion by the Cunning and Artisice of Words.

Please therefore, Sir, to admit me to run over your Book with as modest Animadversions as my just Defence will allow; and I am content to stand Corrected, where

fail in point of Decency.

First, You quarrel with me for a Breach of Kindness and Equity, in hiding my own Name and Revealing yours. Designing my self to fight in the Dark, and expecting you to to it in open Light. And you give us Five whole Pages, including the Quotation of your self in your Preface to the Inhabitants of Torrington, to show your indifferency in Controverted Disputes, and consequently your Unwilingness to engage in this.

Truly, Sir, as to the First, I thought a publick Apeal to you, who are a publick Person, had been no in against Kindness or Equity; if it be, I ask your

ardon.

As to my Concealing my Name, I have given you my Reasons already; and as to my Exposing yours, had you thought fit to have Replied to the Book which lay Three years unanswer'd, without being address'd to any Person in particular, you had been at Liberty to have remained as unexposed as the Author.

But the Enquiry being unanswer'd, gave some People more prejudice against the Integrity of Dissenters in general, than I cou'd wish to have found; upon which I thought it necessary to have the Matter discuss'd, if possible; and knew no Man more concerned to do it, nor more

capable than your felf.

Nor is your Answering me such a Disappointment as you are pleas'd to mention; but that you shou'd attempt it, and do it to no more purpose, is, I confess, more Disappointment to me than any thing I cou'd ha' met with.

C

0

il

4

tı

1

ti

Whether, Sir, the Indifferency you are so pleas'd with in your Temper, be Congruous to your Profession as a Gospel Minister, I shall not examine: Whether you that are a Pastor of a Dissenting Church, and Administer the Ordinances of Christ to a Select People, in a way Dissenting from the Establish'd Church, and thereby maintain a Schism in the said Establish'd Church, ought to be so indisferent as to boast that you never peswaded any Man to Conform, or not to Conform, I leave it to your self to consider; I am sure, if I was arriv'd to that Coldness in the matter my self, I wou'd Conform immediately; for I think what I affirm'd in the Enquiry, Page remains a Truth unanswer'd by you; That Schism from a True Establish'd Church of Christ, is a great Sin; and if can Conform, I ought to Conform.

From this Declaration of your own indifferency to meddle in Matters of Controversie, with your Reasons for it, which I suppose you wou'd have taken as Introductors to what follows, you are pleas'd to proceed very angrit to examine why I engage you in this Quarrel: I have given you an Account of it already with all the Honest and Plainness I can, and I thought a Person in your Place would

wou'd never have Resented the being put upon the Desence of his Profession, or being Civilly ask'd a Question about it; and I cannot but observe how carefully you avoid being engag'd in the present Dispute.

Jought to have been well affur'd, you say, (1.) That you did advise one way or the other; Or. (2.) That you ought

to have done fo.

ny

go

'ee

on

r'd

ole

ie-

1

ff.

ore

pt

re

et

th

at

he

10

in

0-

1

S

Really, Sir, I think it immaterial whether you were or no; or, whether you ought, or no; for I never Charg'd you with the first, or affirm'd the last; but only ask'd this fair Question:

Whether it was allow'd by Dissenters in general, or by your Congregation in particular? To which Question

you give no Answer.

But I shall answer you honestly and directly: I am assured, as far as Rationally I can be, by consequences of things, that you have not advised one way or other? Nor do I assured, applied to you for Advice in Point of Conscience on the Case; if he did, I do not see how you could decline it. So that to me, it seems, you either were oblig'd, or not oblig'd, as the Application of the Person concern'd might alter the Case: I do not say you were oblig'd officiously to tender your Advice in the Case: If I am wreng here, I shall acknowledge my Error when I am better inform'd.

The next thing will come close to the Point, Whether it be a Fault, an unlawful Action, or no, for a Dissenter, at such, to hold Occasional Communion with the Establish'd Church, and at the same time continue in, or return to his Relative conjunction with a Separate Church.

That it is not a finful Act fimply to have Communion with the Establish'd Church, I willingly agree. But since of this Point depends the Weight of our present Dispute, I must conclude, That I think 'tis a finful Act circumstantially and conjunctively.

And because I would be rightly understood, I shall endeavour to be Explicit, the I run the hazard of being

counted impertinent.

I have laid down the Case, I thought, fairly, and of Z 3 which

any

Art

and

Dia

do

cer

fer

lan

is

fli

la

fo

which you are pleas'd to take no Notice, in the Enquiry,

Page 12.

He who Dissents from an Establish'd Church from any other Reasons but such as these; That he really believes the said Establish'd Church is not of the purest Institution, but that he can serve God in a Form more agreeable to his Will; and that accordingly 'tis his Duty to do it so, and no otherwise: Such a one ought to Conform, because to make a Wilful Schism in the Church, is doubtless a great Sin, and if I can avoid it, I ought to avoid it.

If then I am guided by this real Principle of Conscience to Dissent, how can I Conform without Sinning against that Conscience, by which only my Dissenting is

made Lawful?

And thus, Sir, I am brought to my Argument again; Of which I shall give you this short Abstract; and you or any body else, are welcome to be angry with me, if you will be pleas'd first to Answer it:

That he who Dissents from the Establish'd Church, except from a true Principle of Conscience, is guilty of a great

Sin.

That he who Conforms to the Establish'd Church against

bis Conscience, is guilty of a great Sin.

That he who both Dissents and Conforms at the same time, and in the same Point of Religion, must be guilty of one of these great Sins.

That he who has committed either of these Sins, ought not to be received again on either side on any other Terms, than as

a Penitent.

I do not examine, as I hinted then, whether the Gentleman you would embroil me with, be thus guilty; he

that to bimfelf.

But I must now come to your Distinctions: Indeed, Sir, I believe as you say, that taking which side you will, you may puzzle the most of plain people, who are but of ordinary Understandings in the Controversie about Ceremonies: And give me leave to add, That such is the Subtilty and Nicety of Sophistical Reasonings, that Men may almost Distinguish themselves into, and out of

any Opinion; and some People, who are Masters of the Art of Nice Arguing, too often lose both Themselves and their Religion in the Labyrinths of Words: School Divinity and Practical Christianity are Two things, and seldom understood by the same Heads.

But, Sir, with the greatest Respect, and some Concern, let me tell you, I did not think to find all the Disference between the Dissenters and the Church of England dwinds dinto Three Additional Appendices, in which we have some Difference, and so: and this from Mr. How, who

is Pastor of a Separate Church.

If we differ from them in Trifles, or have but a Trifling Difference, I think we can never justify making so large a Chasm in the Church; we have much to answer for, without question, in the two satal Divisions of this Nation, if it has all been occasion'd by a few small Ap-

pendices.

usry,

other

the

but

Till;

ber-

ilful

can

ſci-

2-

is

n;

OU

if

tt

If our Differences are not Matters of Conscience I have no more to say; if they are, 'tis a Mystery yet hidden from the Common Understandings, how they can be first insisted on from a Principle of Conscience, and then wav'd without ading against that Conscience, which only could justify the first insisting on them: If you can Distinguish us into this, I am mistaken.

I allow your Distinctions of Sins, which are Consistent or Inconsistent with the Christian State, to be Orthodox

and Right.

I allow your Distinctions of Negative and Affirmative Precepts, and, according to my weak Talent, agree with

you in them.

But the Consequence you draw, with submission, does not reach the Case; which is, That scrupulous Persons ought to be fully perswaded in their own Minds; and Fellow Christians were not to Judge, but to Receive them.

This you have answer'd your self, P. 13. to be meant in dubious and small Matters: And if we must stick here, we are next to Examine, Whether the Difference between Us and the Establish'd Church be only in dubious

an

ites

e p

ng

raw

hat

hole

ular

1.

D

Ipri erb

b

am

ec

Ma

hi

ar

Co

1/1

and small Matters; if it be, I know not how we shall Ward off the Blow of being guilty of Schism; the Sin of which I suppose you will not dispute. Wherefore to defeed to some Particulars—If I know why we Dissent from the Establish'd Church, 'tis principally on such Accounts as these.

* Hierarchy, Prelatical Ordinati
* Clarkson's No Scripture

Evidence for Diocesan Bishop.

on and Super-intendency.

2. On account of their imposing things own'd to be

indifferent, as Terms of Communion.

3. On account of their imposing things own'd to beotherwise indifferent, as made necessary by the Command

of the Civil Magistrate.

As to Partial Conformity, Dissent in some things, and Conforming in others, which you mention Page is does not seem to concern this Case. No Man among the Dissenters, I believe, pretended to Dissent in every thing; but we are speaking of Conforming in those very Points in which we Dissent, and that no less than the Article of Communion.

If these are your small things, I am content to stand by

it, and ready to prove, as I said in the Enquiry:

That whoever Separates from this Church, and at the fame time Conforms to it; by Conforming, denies his Diffent being Lawful; or, by his Diffenting, Damns his

Conforming as Sinful.

All this, Sir, you have not thought fit to touch upon, for Reasons which you know best; and I really wonder you should take so much pains to Cavil at me and a simple Preface, which really was not worth your while; and when you have led your self into the Argument, take no notice of the thing it self, as it is Objected, but Distinguish so nicely about the smaller matters, and omit the greater.

If we differ from the Establish'd Church in small things only, we are to blame to make the Breach so wide. Was it for small and dubious Things only that we suffer'd Process of the Law, Excommunications, Seizures of our Entrates,

ates, and Imprisonment of our Persons? And since you to pleas'd to bring in that Honourable Gentleman, speaning in the first Person to the Point, as an Inference nawn from your Distinctions, and your self telling us that he may perhaps do; Give me leave to go through nose Suppositious Cases with you, Sir. As to the partillar Person, you concern him in it, not I.

1. You say, He may have Arguments so specious, that apposing he Err, may Impose upon the Judgment, and therey Direct the Practice of a very Intelligent, Discerning, and spright-hearted Man, so as to make him think that which is arbaps an Error, his present Duty, and so not offer Violence

bis Conscience.

nall

of de-

ent

Ac-

be

ond

it he

;

cs

Y

5

I Answer: Admit he does so; yet while you at the ame time allow be Errs, that is, Sins; why ought not to be admonished to Repent of that Sin, before he be ecciv'd again into Communion? This is what I mean by being receiv'd as a Penitent: You grant (P. 9.) a man is to do the part of a Penitent for a Fault; and this Error is a Fault, though it were an Error of Ignorance.

2. Then you say, P. 18. As judging such a Church rue as to Essentials, be may think (Occasion inviting) be sath greater Reason, though it be Defestive in Accidents, to Communicate with it sometimes, than to shun its Communion shays.

Pardon me, Sir, I must say this seems a Sophism in Religion; for allow he may think so, you must allow he bught not to think so. And why Occasion inviting? Why not Occasion compelling? Tis manifest, Force cou'd not

compel, why shou'd Occasion invite?

I confine not my Argument to this Gentleman; but of Others I can prove, That Force cou'd not compel them, but Occasion, that is, Honour and Preferment cou'd invite them, Now if you please to Reconcile this for me, I shall be gotten over one Point; Whether a Man can justify suffering to the Ruin, perhaps, of his family, rather than comply with that which he may do

without imposing upon his Conscience, and which Occa-

fion inviting, he may judge lawful?

You have another Distinction which, I confess, I hardly think to be Rational, that is, Unprofitable Preferment, Page : First, I neither understand that the Instance you are upon is Unprofitable, nor believe it; nor that the Epithete can be proper to the word, for that which is un-

profitable cannot be a Preferment.

I must also observe here, Sir, that the Conformity exacted in the late Reigns, was not so large as what these Gentlemen are pleas'd to comply with voluntarily. Now as to the Ceremonies you insist on, and which indeed I do not, as the way of Administration, Kneeling, &c. it was allow'd to be so indifferent then, that many receiv'd in the Church Standing. But when these Unprofitable Preferments, as you please to call them, invite, they seek of themselves what before they cou'd not be forc'd to.

3. You ask us another Question: What if some have thought that alone a sufficient Reason for their Occasional Communion with a Church, with whom they have not a constant Communion, That they may testify to the World they Decline it not as no Church, but so far practically own it as the Reason of the thing requires; may not be supposed to do this, as thinking it a good Reason, whether it be so or no, without going against Conscience herein?

may not's, are put in to make out what you faid Page, that you cou'd puzzle a mean Understanding both ways; and, I thank God, you are driven to the Necessity of these Arts. But to let you see these Suppositions may be re-

plied to;

1. Sir, the Church of England, however, must own Her felf very much oblig'd to such Gentlemen who will Con-

el

u

he

form only to Vindicate her Reputation.

2. They may be supposed to do thus, but they cannot be supposed to do so without a manifest gross ignorance, and taking that for a good Reason which is none at all:

For if, Sir, you will admit that a Man is in the Right as to him-

himself, while he thinks he is so, then you open the way to the satal Latitude of all manner of Error, for no man's guilty of an Error, as an Error, but as his Judgment may be perverted to believe himself right, when he is wrong.

Page 19. you are pleas'd to Object for me: Since, Sir, you think it not unlawful to Communicate with such a Church sometimes, why shou'd you not (for Common Order sake) do

t always?

Sir, if you please to give me leave to ask Questions for my self, I wou'd state it something more fairly to the Case in hand, thus: Since, Sir, you think it not Unawful to Communicate with such a Church sometimes, why hou'd you not, to avoid the just Imputation of Schism, which is a great Sin, have done it always? And why never do it, but when upon an Occasion of Preferment inviting, you ind it necessary to protect you from the penalty of the Law?

I shou'd ha' been very glad you had stated this Question sully, and suppose what Answer you please; for upon my word, I can suppose none, unless I wou'd bring him in, owning the Crime, and repenting of it; which I shou'd

be glad to hear of.

What you say, I shall stare at, Page 20. I willingly adnit, that what is simply best, may not be best for Practice in resent Circumstances. And I must likewise remind you, ir. That what may be simply Lawful, may be unlawful imstantially: And so I affirm this to be, and dare muertake to prove it so, without coming in the Number of Solomon's Fools, with whom you have ranked me, or proposing bastily beyond Seven Men that can render a Reason.

Here, Sir, viz. at your 20th Page, I must leave you o combat with the Independents, and let them answer or themselves; I am not at all concern'd in the Quar-

el.

And you spend three or sour Pages as an Advocate or the Church of England, concerning Modes and Gelures; in which, I am sure, I am far from placing he least Weight, where serious Christianity is to be found:

found; and God forbid either you or 1, Sir, should be found making a Rent in the Christian Union of the Church and Nation, if their Kneeling at the Samment, or the use of a Liturgy, were all the Dispute; its you have led me into saying any thing of the Difference between the National Church and the Difference.

I know that the Assurance of the Primitive Church incheded the Forms of their Administrations and Public Services; and need not recite my Authorities for its you, who know it better than I; nor that they are found in the Time of Tertullian, and long before him. But know also, and the contrary has never been prov'd, that those Forms were not impos'd as Terms of Comminion, and under the Penalty of Laws, at least till the Divisions of the Church between the Arrians and the Orthodox, when Error and Persecution got into the Church, and the Evil Spirit Reign'd, to the Destruction of both sides.

And now, Sir, I find you no more talking to me, ill you come to Page 25, where you are pleased to Satyriz

upon my Title and Preface.

Really, Sir, I believe my self capable to Defend my Book against all that the Power of Cavil and Sophish can suggest; and therefore I am not solicitous for my Preface and Title-Page.

But that I may fatisfy your Request: And telling

h

ie

first, that you oblige me to it: I shall be plain.

You desire me to examine my own Heart, what I ment by that Suggestion? in Cases of Preferment, mentioned in the Title; was it not to insinuate, that Preferment was the inducement to that Worthy Person to all against his Considerace?

Sir, Will you be pleased to Examine your own Reason, how that can be, when the Words were printed That years before the Fact; and I Appeal to God and the World, whether you have not wrongfully Judg'd me then. But no make it more plain:

I do not fay he, or any Body else does it for Preferment

ou are pleas'd strangely to mistake me: I say they may have

he Preferment without it.

this

acra-

the

Dif

nclo.

blick it to

ound

utl

that

DU-

the

the

Of

'Tis done to fave their Money, to fave the Five bunred Pounds, which is the Penalty of the Act: I am forry ou have not Read the Book before you ventur'd to make o severe a Remark. For your better Information, thereore, Sir, I refer you to p. 19 in the Enquiry, where my Vords are plain.

As to the Worthy Gentleman, whose Cause you would have his to be; you say this has been his known Judgement and

rastice several Years.

Tho' it were true, yet, Sir, this is no Argument to prove he thing lawful, or to prove that it is not practifed, een in every part that I have laid down, by others before
im, and like to be so after him; it only quits him of dong it against his Conscience, to qualifie himself for the unrostrable Preferment you mention: and this I never Charg'd
im with.

That he has done the Fact, no Body Disputes; but that he did it against his Conscience, I never alledg'd; you put hat upon me, Sir, unjustly: Be his Conscience to God and himself, I know better than to judge him, nor can you

vithout a Breach of Charity suggest it of me.

Nor do I any where say that others have acted against heir Consciences that do so; possibly they may by the said of nice Distinguishing, Reason themselves into a Be-

ief of their being in the Right.

But the Point in Debate is, Whether whatever their Oinions may be in the Case, the Act it self be not, as I have aid, Circumstantially sinful: For I hope you will grant me, they are never the tmore in the Right for its being their Opinion: Truth is always unmov'd, sullen, and the same, whatever Gloss our Fancy or Interest puts upon it.

But since you will have it be this Gentleman's practice, which I think no Reputation to him, nor Defence of the Practice: Nor do I think you or he can justifie your Diffenting from the Church of England, and that Practice logether: Since, I say, you will have it to be that Gentleman's practice; all you gain by that in point of Arguman's practice; all you gain by that in point of Arguman's

ment,

ment, is, That he did not do it against his Conscient nor to serve the present Turn. And what then? I a firm to you, I neither meant him nor any Man else, he him that is Guilty; and I meant him, and every Bod else, if they are guilty. And what is all this to the propose? The Question is not here, who is, or is not guilty of it; but whether the thing in its own Nature, as gravated with the Circumstances of Turn and Return, it med for Preserment, with all the black Etcetera's of it, a 'tis lately practis'd, and as I have laid it down, be a Crimt or no?

If this Gentleman you would Embroil me with, did former ly live in a general, or ordinary Communion, both with the Church of England, and a private Congregation, before either the Preferments, I mention, invited, or the Penalty of the Law forced him to it; Then he stands clear this part of the Charge, that he did it for the protection his Interest, but still the matter of Fact is true.

Thus, Sir, I have said what I thought my self oblig'd toh way of Reply to your Considerations: And as to your Censures, tho' I have a great Opinion of your Charity, however you seem to be out of Temper in this Case; yet I appeal from your Judgment, to the Judgment of Truth; and waving all your puzzling Distinctions, which my Respect so your Person and Character, will not permit me to Descand upon; give me leave to make this short Conclusion.

Sincerity is the Glory of a Christian; the Native Lustre of an honest Heart is impossible to be hid; 'twill shine through all his Life in one Action or another, in spite of

Scandal; and it wants no Artifice to fet it out.

If the Practice we Discourse of be to be Defended, in it be a Practice; I mean, let it be Voluntary, let it be Free and Spontaneous; and if Gentlemen, who have such a Latitude in their Opinions, wou'd not have it thought they are mov'd to it by their Interests, let them practise it openly, and not time it so to the very Eve of an Election, as to have it speak of it self, and, as it were, force Men to believe it done on purpose; nay, let them not put such a Reproach in the Mouths of their Enemies, as to have it spoken

spoken in Contempt, with Circumstances that stop the Mouths of Argument, and are as Convincing as Demon-

stration.

e.

1

1

Te

De

of

ee

1

e

10

1

You have given your Blessing to them at the Conclusion of your Book. with a Let them go on and Prosper. I wish you have not spoken Peace where there is no Peace: As to its being a Secret between God and Them; I shall only say, Enter not into their Secret, O my Soul! 'Tis an Arcana that is hidden from my Eyes, and I doubt very much how it can consist with consulting the Rule with the serious Diligence you recommend: For certainly were the great Christian Rule consulted, it would instruct them, that the Profession of the Christian Religion is not a thing, the Forms whereof are of such indifference, as you seem to make it; that 'tis not a light thing to shift and change Communion with an Establish'd, and with a Separate Church, as often as Convenience, or Reason of State, or Interest invite.

And whether I fet my name to this, or no? Whether I am an Independent? I hope they are Christians too as well as other folks. Whether I am a Fifth-Monarchy-man? Whether the Book was design'd against my Lord Mayor, tho' twas wrote Three Years before he was Chosen? Or, whether any thing else you Censoriously charge me with be true, or no, seems to me not worth your while to Examine? Since if I shou'd grant them all, the Argument of Occasional

Conformity remains untouch'd.

If the Truth be made the worse for my Temper, I am sorry for it: But this is another of Mr. How's Paradoxes, and something like your Unprositable Preserment, that Truth, tho' it be mix'd with the worst Temper in the World, should thereby be so debased as to become worse than Error.

Sir, I had ended here, but for a Clause you force me to Reply to, concerning the Old Puritans, who you tax me with abusing. Indeed twas as remote from my Thoughts, as twas, that ever it was possible you cou'd treat an Adversary with such Language.

And, but that I shall not suffer my self to be transported beyond the Bounds of Civility, and so fall into your Error, I cou'd allow my self to be very much mov'd, That

fuch

fuch a Man as you should venture to Charge me with what is neither true in Fact, nor can be suggested by Consequence from any thing I have wrote: And, Sir, you must give me leave to say, I am forry you shou'd lay your self so open, and force me to so severe a Remark.

You are pleas'd to affirm, That I industriously reprefent the Primitive English Puritans, as if they were gene

rally of my stingy, narrow Spirit.

And here you run upon me with ill Language, How I could think to impose upon the World in a matter of so recent Memory; and, How I could have the Confidence, &c. This

is really a new fort of Stile from Mr. How.

Sir, I have industriously examin'd the Book I wrote; and, as I am sure I never entertain'd a Thought in prejudice of the best Character that can be given those Primitive Reformers; so I cannot find one Word in the whole Book which can, no, not with the help of an Innuendo, be so much as pretended to look that way.

Wherefore, Sir, unless you can make it out, or, by the help of some of your Distinctions, come off from it; I hope you will do me so much Justice, as you are a Man of Trub and Honesty, to recant the Scandal, and acknowledge your

felf mistaken.

And that I may leave it to every body to Judge, whe ther I have not just Ground for what I say; I shall quote here all that I have said relating to the Puritans, and in-

partially lay down the Matter of Fact.

After I had given a short Abridgment of our Reformation, and recited the Controversie between Bishop Ridley and Bishop Hooper, I proceeded thus, Page the 6th. When Quen Elizabeth Restored the Protestant Religion, and the Church enjoy'd its Peace again, the Debate reviv'd: But the first Establishment of King Edward, obtained so on the Minds of Men, that the farther Reformation was rejected: The other Party being not at all Convinc'd, tho' Over-rul'd, submitted their Persons to the Laws, but not their Opinions; assuming, That it was the Duty of every Christian to endeavour to serve so with the greatest Purity of Worship as was possible; and that this was the purest Worship which came nearest the Divine like this was the purest Worship which came nearest the Divine like this was the purest Worship which came nearest the Divine like this was the purest worship which came nearest the Divine like this was the purest worship which came nearest the Divine like this was the purest worship which came nearest the Divine like this was the purest worship which came nearest the Divine like the purest worship which came nearest the Divine like the purest worship which came nearest the Divine like the purest worship which the division to the Divine like the purest worship which the Divine like the purest worship which the Divine like the purest worship which we was the purest worship which the purest worship which we was the purest worship which we want which we want which we want

sitution, which they believed the Establish'd Liturgy did not

and therefore in Conscience they must be Dissenters.

Having made this Quotation, which I have sufficient Authority to prove genuine, from a Manuscript of a famous Man in those days, which I have feen, and on occa-

fion am ready to produce : I go on thus :

It must be own'd, that the Original Authors of these Disputes were Learned, Devout, and Singularly Pious, frict in Conversation to Excess, if that were possible; and from thence, in a fort of happy Derision, were call'd Puritans; Of. whom I shall say nothing, but leave for a Record the last Speech of a Famous Forreigner;

Sit anima mea cum Puritanis Anglicanis.

This is all the Words that have the least Retrospect on the Puritans; unless you will pretend that a few words, Page 24. is meant of them, which no Man can have any Colour of Reason for: But lest that shou'd be pretended, Ishall quote them also, Page 21.

The Diffenters can never pretend to be Diffenters upon the meer Principle of Purity of Worship, as I have related in the beginning of this Discourse, if such shall be received as blameless into their Communion, who have Deserted them upon oc-

alion of Preferment.

at

ıl

elf

6.

16.

p I

ent

ie;

10. m-

ole be

the

pe

140

TUC

he-310

m.

een

erch

E.

0

ar.

beit

bat

God

that

19.

1011

This refers back to Page 12. where, I fay, I shall give my Essay as to what I understand a real Dissenting Protetant is, nor can it refer to any other place: But if you shou'd fill say it looks back to the Puritans, 'twould puzzle a better Head than mine to find out a Reflection on them in it.

But this is not the only thing in which you are pleased to injure both me and the Truth: For, Page 28. you tell me, with some Heat too, That throughout my Book, such as are so lingily (your Favourite word, Sir) bigotted to a Party, as I, are treated with this fort of Charity, to be still Painted Hypocrites, such as play Bo-peep with God Almighty, That fluch an Oceasion offer it self to any of them to serve God and beir Country in a publick Station, do what the Law requires

Aa

and which they may sinlesly do in order to it, do trespass upon their Consciences, and Damn their Souls to save their Countries,

Sir, for God fake, how came you to let your Passion thus

out-run your Memory?

There is not one word of all this true: Pardon me, that I am oblig'd in my own Defence to say so: I refer you to the Original to convince your self of it, and I'll take the pains to go along with you in the Examination.

First, As to Painted Hypocrites, 'tis spoken of the whole

Body of Protestants in England, in these words.

P. 8. I must acknowledge it fares with the Church of England, and with Dissenters both, as it has always far'd with Christ's Church in the whole World; that while suppress'd and persecuted, their Professors were few and their Profession mons severe: But when Religion comes to be the Mode of a Country, so many Painted Hypocrites, there's the Word, get into the Church, that Guile is not to be seen till it arrive to Apostag.

Pray, Sir, who can these Painted Hypocrites refer to, that you should say, Innuendo, All those that are not of my Party,

or that are not so stingy as I?

These Painted Hypocrites must belong to that Religion which is the Mode of the Country: which must rather mean the Church of England than the Dissenters: and yet if I meant either of them, it cannot be made a Resection, because 'tis confin'd only to such as are Apostates from Religion, not such as continue to Conform to both or either of them.

This is Judging me indeed neither with Charity not Truth: The next Words are, Such as play Bo-peep with God Almighty. Pray, good Sir, reflect on Solomon, and whatis faid of fuch as judge of a Matter before they hear it: lam perswaded you did not read the Clause; which is thus.

I had been examining the Woful Excuse of some People, and too many such we had, who wou'd take the Sacrament at the Church, and pretend twas done only as a Civil Action; on which I made such Remarks, as, I think, so prophane a Practice deserv'd; and at last added, This is playing Bo-peep with God Almighty.

And, pray Sir, if I may be so free with you, do butext

mine the Circumstance as I have laid it down, and tell me from the Sincerity of your Soul, if you are not of the same Mind.

The other Reflection is on such, who, tho' it be against their Consciences, pretend 'tis to serve their Country: Of these, I say, They are Patriots indeed, who will Damn their Souls to save their Country: Not that thereby I imply, that to take the Sacrament with the Church of England, wou'd Damn any Man's Soul, if he communicated with a right Principle; but to do it to serve a Turp, which is the Question in hand, I won't answer for, tho' it were inverted from the Church to a Dissenting Congregation.

All these instances, Sir, and more which I could reckon up, serve to make me admire wherein I have so provok'd you, as to remove you from your wonted Candor: And since my Writing on a cause, which I expected fairer Quarter in, so exceedingly moves you, I shall chuse rather to lay down the Controversy, than to engage with a Person, who I shou'd be very much concern'd to see exceed the Rules which he has with so much Success, and so much

Applause prescrib'd to others.

I always thought Men might Dispute without Railing, and Differ without Quarrelling; and that Opinions need not affect our Tempers! But fince it is not to be found. I leave it to those who have a better Talent that way than I.

A Line of the POSTS CRIPT. Acres of

Besides your Book, Sir, which I think treats me Coursely mough; I am since threatned to be worse us'd by a Gentleman, who thinks himself concern'd in my affronting you, as he calls it.

I affure you, Sir, I do not charge you with any part of it: I believe you to be more of a Christian, and more of a Gentleman, nor am I sensible I gave you any affront, I

om sure I intended you none.

M

nt

1.

ne

But

But because that Gentleman, I understand, expects some

Answer this way, I have this to say to him.

That if he thinks himself capable to give me Personal Cor. rection, he knows me well enough, and need never want an opportunity to be welcome.

The Two Great Questions

CONSIDER'D.

I. What the French King will Do, with Respect to the Spanish Monarchy.

H. What Measures the English ought to Take.

The PREFACE.

Ince the following Sheets were in the Press, some Letters D from France advise, that the King of France has saluted bis Grandson the Duke D'Anjou, as King of Spain.

Some of the most Intelligent Part of Mankind, think He bas done so by way of Politicks, to see how the rest of Europe will refent it; as He once did in a like Case, to the Prince of Conti as King of Poland; whose Pretensions He did not think fit to purfue.

The Author therefore thinks the following Sheets are as much to the purpose as they were before; and without any farther re-

commendation refers the Reader to the perusal.

THE

Two Great Questions

CONSIDER'D.

WE are told, That the Deceased King of Spain has by his last Will, bestow'd his Kingdoms on the Duke

D' Anjou, Grandson to the present King of France.

Amongst the many weak Actions of that Effeminate Prince, who hardly ever did a Wise One, This is the most Ridiculous; if it be proper to give such an Epithet

to the Actions of Sovereign Princes.

and perhaps a

r. To imagine the most Christian King wou'd give any Regard to, or put any Value upon such a Bequest, any farther than consisted with his other Measures, or at least with his Interest; must be a Folly none could be guilty of, but such as know very little of the King of France, or of the Assairs of Europe.

2. To think that the Rest of the Princes of Christendom, wou'd suffer the Spanish Monarchy to be bequeathed by Will to a French Man, without any Title or other Right than the Deed of Gift of the late King, and without any Regard to the Right of the Lawful Pretenders, is also

most Egregious Nonsense.

To make way therefore, to the Case in hand, and come at the Questions before us with more Clearness; 'tis necessary to Examine the Nature, and probable Consequences of this Last Will and Testament of the King of Spain.

Tacit Invitation to all the Competitors to a Dangerous and a Bloody War; as if the King of Spain shou'd have said to his Privy Council, I'll be revenged on them all for attempting to divide our Dominions; for I'll give it to One A a 3

that has no Title, let the Rest fight for it, and the longest Sword take all.

As to the Duke D'Anjou, he has no manner of Title, but what is presumptive on the Death of his Father and Elder Brother without Issue; if they should have Children the Emperor of Morocco has as good, and perhaps a

better Title to the Crown of Spain than He.

The Dauphin of France has an Unquestion'd Title to the Crown of Spain, if it be True, that the Renunciation made by his Father and Mother at the Pyrenæan Treaty, cannot bind the Children so as to deprive them of their Right, which is the great Argument now us'd to defend their Title: Now if their Right be good, the Crown is the Dauphin's, and after him the Duke of Burgundy's and his Heirs.

But I should be glad to have it answer'd, how the Duke D'Anjou can have a Title while the other are alive? It cannot be in the Power of the Dauphin to say, I will give my Right to my Second Son, for I do not think it worth my while to accept of it for my felf or my Eldest. Be-

cause,

2. The Consequence of that will in all Probability be this, that the Duke of Burgundy's Son, when he has One, will say again, My Grandsather had no Power to give away my Right, I am the Undoubted Heir to the Spanish Monarchy, and so no Question he will be, if the present Dauphin has a Right; and if Power be in his Hands to subdue it, he will have it, tho' the Possession be his Uncles; for Crowns know no Uncles, Brothers, or any Relations; when Power of Possession join'd with Right is before them.

So that the King of France cannot but see, that to take the Crown of Spain from the Will and Testament of the late King, is Disclaiming the Right of his own Son, and Involving his Grandsons in Bloody Wars; the Issue of which a Wiser Head than His cannot foresee. This leads

me to Consider

The First Question.

What Measures the King of France will take, with respect to the Succession of the Spanish Monarchy?

By faying what Measures he will take, I mean, what He will in all Probability take, or what his Interest will lead him to take; for I suppose no Man will imagine I am of his Privy Council.

To debate this Matter, 'tis necessary to consider the King of France, with respect to the Terms he stands in

with the rest of Europe.

nd

1.

If the King of France were absolute Master of his own Measures, and had no Leagues or Neighbours to regard; there is no Question to be made, but that rejecting all Conditions, he would immediately enter upon the Dominions of Spain as his own undoubted Inheritance, or at least his Sons,; annex the same to the Crown of France, and make it one Entire Empire; and any Man else wou'd do the like.

But as He has Measures to take with Powerful Neighbours, who as Potent as He is, are able to give him Diversion enough; and if He shou'd embroil himself with them, may make it a Hazard whether he should obtain it or no; He is too Wise a Prince not to see that his Interest will Oblige him to act in Concert with his Neighbours, as

far as conveniently He can.

The Truth of this Argument is abundantly confirm'd in the Measures He took, and the Alliances He made be-

fore the Death of the King of Spain.

They who think the King of France so Magnipotent that He values none of his Neighbours, and talk so big of him, that like his Medal-Makers they place him among the Invincibles; must have forgot the Siege of Namure, and the Vain Effort of the Power of France to relieve it; they must pass over his Deserting the Late, and Acknowledging the Present King of England at the Peace of Reswick; they must overlook the low Steps he was obliged

th

A

re

(a

fix

la

th

th

of

D

te

0

oblig'd to make, to draw the Duke of Savoy from the Confederacy, how he was unable to fave Cafal, which cost him so much Mony; how he delivered the Impregnable Town of Pigneroll, which his Father call'd the Right Hand of France, and which cost him 100 Millions to fortifie; how he married the Fortune of France to a Daughter of Savoy without a Portion, and bought the Duke of Savoy at the Price of his Grandson's Dishonour; how he furrendred the large Dominions of Lorrain and Luxemburgh, and above 100 Fortified Towns to the Confederates, which though he were always Master of the Field, would cost him Seven Years to recover by the Ordinary Course of Sieges and Attacks.

These are plain Demonstrations, that he found himself over-match'd by the Confederacy; and he is not a Man

of so little sense, as not to know it.

* Why else in the League now made for the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy, shou'd he content himself with the Dominion the Spaniards had in Italy, and quit the Delicious Morsel of America to the House of Austria.

What Reason can any one assign for it, but that sinding the English and Dutch never to be brought to consent to his being so very powerful at Sea, as that Addition wou'd make him; he was willing to accept so large a Portion as the Italian Part assign'd to him upon Easie Terms, rather than venture, like the Dog in the Fable, to lose all by covering too much.

Upon these Terms therefore, in Concert with the English and Dutch, his Most Christian Majesty has agreed, that on the Decease of the King of Spain, the Spanish Mo-

narchy should be thus divided.

All the Dominions which the Spaniards possess in Italy to be given to the French, Millan excepted, which is to be given to the Duke of Lorrain in Consideration of the Dutchies of Lorrain and Barr, which are to be yielded

^{*} Some have the Vanity to Say, the King of France made all those Concessions at the Peace of Reswick; in View and Expectation of the Death and Will of the King of Spain.

ed to the French, and all the rest, some sew Towns on the Frontiers of Navarre excepted, to be given to the Arch-Duke of Austria, with other Particulars needless to repeat.

This League being Concluded, the King of Spain (as if he had linger'd out his Days only 'cill it was thus fix'd) dyes according to our Account on the 22. of October

last.

The Spaniard, on pretence that they wou'd not have their Monarchy divided, and taking no Notice at all of the Right of any Prince to succeed; has made a Legacy of his Kingdoms, and given them all away to the Duke D'Anjou, a Prince who has no more Right to it, or Pretence of Right, except as before, than the Prince of Wales or the Czar of Muscovy.

Now 'tis a Mighty Disputed Point among our Politicians, what the King of France will do in this New Juncture of Affairs, whether He will stand by the Partition agreed on, or accept of the late King of Spain's Bounty, and

take the Kingdom as a Gift to his Grandson.

What He will do, as is before noted, cannot positively be asserted; but what Reason the State and Nature of the Thing, and his own Undoubted Interest will dictate, to be done by any Prince in his Circumstances, any one may

judge!

If He be the same King of France that He has always been, who has very rarely took salse Measures, or baulkt his own Interest, if He be guided by the same well-mannag'd Council as he us'd to be, He will certainly adhere to the Postulata of his Alliance, and quietly accept the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy, as it is agreed in the before-mentioned League. For

By this Acquisition of Italy He secures to himself the Absolute Dominion of the Mediterranean Sea; He entirely excludes the House of Austria from any tarther Concern in Italy, he has the Church so absolutely in his Clutches, that he may make himself Pope it He thinks sit; and whenever he is pleas'd to be Angry with the Petty Princes of Tuscany, Parma, Modena. Mantua, &c. they

fhall

shall lay down their Principalities at his Invincible Feet and count it more an Honour to be call'd Princes of the Blood, or Peers of France, than to be Absolute Lord of their own Dominions. So He shall, whenever H thinks fit, re-establish the Old Kingdom of the Lombards and annex it to the Title of France and Navarre.

And all this without the Expence of Treasure or Hazard of his Armies, without fitting out a Fleet, or fighting a Sea or on Shore; the English and Dutch being affistant to

put him into the Possession of it.

If the Emperor shou'd be so weak to oppose Him, He must stand upon his own Leggs, and in the present Circumstance, his Power does not seem formidable enough to make the Matter doubtful.

And now we are come to mention the Emperor, let us fay a Word or Two to those Gentlemen, who in his behalf speak big and say, he is able to bassle all these Measures.

First, They tell you, how powerful the Empire now is by the Acquisition of the Kingdom of Hungary, and the

most advantageous Peace with the Turk.

They tell you his Imperial Majesty has an Army of 120 Thousand Men, besides the Troops of the Circle which are 80 Thousand more; that of these 50 Thousand lye ready on the Confines of Italy, and all the rest of his Forces are drawing down to the Rhine; that the Duke of Brandenburgh, on Condition of being made King of Prussia, will join him with all his Forces; that the Duke of Lunenburgh, on account of the Ninth Elestorate, will maintain 30 Thousand Men at his own Charge; and thus all the Princes of Italy are on his side.

By these they tell you, the Emperor will immediately on the one side secure Italy, and on the other side make such a Vigorous Diversion on the Rhine, that the King of France shall have Work enough to secure his own Dominions, while in the mean time the Arch-Duke Charles shall be sent into Spain, where the Spaniards, who naturally hate the French, will immediately proclaim him

King.

ord

H

ards

are

gal

t to

He

ir-

ugh

let

his

ea-

is

he

of

les

of

he

18

10

6,

d

y

3

Those are great Things indeed, and if the Emperor be frong, he may cut out a great deal of Work for the confederates, and I'll suppose, the Emperor should be so and to his own Interest as to attempt it, yet it seems of at all probable, that his Imperial Majesty, who has ardly been able to support himself this War, in Conjuncion with the whole Confederacy of Europe, should imagine inself capable of putting a Check to the Power of France, a Conjunction with England and Holland; for whatever a might do in Italy and on the Rhine, he would never be ble to defend Spain and Flanders if he really had them in offession.

First, Flanders which has always been maintain'd by the conjunction of the Dutch, would immediately be enter'd y the Dutch on one side, and the French on the other;

ed must fall into their hands with little difficulty.

Secondly, Spain cou'd never hold out against the French y Land, assisted with the Naval Forces of the English and Dutch by Sea, the Islands of the Mediterranean must about to the Masters of the Sea, and America would lye ike the Golden Garland among the Wrestlers, to be given to the Conqueror.

No Man can imagine, but the Emperor, to whose Son of Considerable a Dominion is allotted, will accept of the Partition for his Part, especially when he sees how impossible it will be to make better Conditions by force.

What the English and Dutch are to do, if he should

efuse; remains to be debated under another Head.

I'll now suppose that which to me seems very unlikely, That the King of France should accept of this Legacy, and claim the Crown of Spain for his Grandson the Duke D'Anjou, and attempt to set up that Ridiculous Tisle of Last Will and Tastament, as the Foundation of his Pretension.

Let us Calmly consider the Consequences.

1. * He inevitably renews the War with the whole Confederacy

^{*} The Truth of this appears in the Consequence, for it has fallen out just as is here assur'd.

Confederacy, that Peace which cost him so much to procure is immediately broken, upon the first Invasion he makes on the Territories of Spain, who are a Branch of the Confe.

deracy.

2. He renews the War under insuperable Disadvanta. ges, such as are infinitely greater than He lay under before and such as loudly tell the World, He never will venture to fight the whole Confederacy again. Viz. The Multitude of strong Towns and Cities which he surrendred to the Confederates, which are a sufficient Guarantee of the Peace, and the Different Case of the Emperor, who is more than twice what he was the last War, by his Peace with the Turks.

C

2. If he should make the Duke D' Anjou, King, France would really get nothing by the Bargain, for in One Age the Race would be all Spaniards again; Nay, in a few Years Property wou'd prevail, and he wou'd no morelet his Brother the Duke of Burgundy, when King of France, encroach upon him, than the late King of Spain wou'd the present King of France; We do not want instances in the World, that Interest banishes all the Ties of Nation and Kindred, when the Duke D' Anjou had been King of Spain some time, he would look upon Spain to be his Own, his Native, his Peculiar, and be as far from subjecting himfelf to France, because he was born there; as if he had never feen it: Possibly he might be willing w join Interest with France, and it may be join Forces up on Occasion; but it must be where the Interest of the two Nations did not clash then, and that is almost no where, but if ever France encroach upon him, the wou'd find him King of Spain, not Duke D'An-10U.

So that all the King of France could get by accepting the Crown of Spain, would be a little present Satisfaction, to see a Son of the House of Bourbon on the Spanish Throne, but as King of France he would not be One farthing the

better for it.

But this would not be all as is before noted, but whenever the present Duke of Burgundy comes to Enjoy the

Crown of France, it will in all Probability be an Eternal Cause of Contention between them: For if the Family of France has any Title to Spain, 'tis in the Eldest Son of the Family, and there can be no Colour of a Title in the Second Son while the Eldest is alive, but what is founded either in the Gift of the One King or the Other.

As to the Gift of the Dauphin to his Second Son the first being alive, it cannot be valid; for he has no Power to give away what is his Son's by Inheritance, nor can any more give the Crown of Spain from him, than the Crown of France; if Gift could be pleaded, the Grandfather gave it away from them all before they were born: Nay, if the Duke of Burgundy should content to it, His Children if ever he has any, will declare, he had nothing to do to give away their Right, any more than the present King of France had Power to give away the Right of the Dauphin; for since the Desiciency of that Action in its own Nature, is the whole Ground of the Dauphin's Title now, it will directly destroy the Title of the Duke D'Anjou, for what is a good Argument for him cannot be a bad one against him.

As to the Gift of the Defunct King of Spain, I see nothing in it to build a Pretence of Right on; It he had bequeath'd it to the Right Heir, I presume, he would not have thought his Title one jot the better for it. And if he had bequeath'd it to the Grand Seignior, the King of France would not have thought his Title the worse for it:

So that it fignifies just nothing at all.

We come now to the grand Question proposed.

Quest. 2. What Measures the English ought to take in this Juncture.

The Answer must be in Two Parts,

1. Supposing the French King adheres to the Partition

agreed upon by the League before-mentioned.

2. Supposing the French King, for Reasons which we know nor, should think sit to quit the Treaty, and push for the whole, on the Pretence of a Will made by the King of Spain.

of

pe

th

to

L

in

gi

as

p

'Tis confess'd England, since her Troops are broke and her People more divided in Temper than twas hope they would have been under so mild and gentle a Government, makes but a very mean Figure abroad; and were any King at the Head of her Councils as well as Forces but King William, hardly any Nation would trouble their Heads to Confederate with her.

But all the World does not yet see our weak Side, and the Reputation of the King makes us more formidable

great deal than we really are.

But we are to act according to the Knowledge we have of what our Circumstances really are, not what other Nations may believe them, lest we let them know our Weakness at the Price of our Destruction.

However Pil for the present suppose what all good Men wish. That we were in the same good Posture as the War left us, united in Council, and ready for Action, and willing to preserve the Character we had then in the World.

And First, Supposing the King of France adheres to the

Partition of the Spanish Monarchy.

If so, without Question England ought to put her self into such a posture as to be able, in Conjunction with the Dutch, to force the Emperor and Princes of Italy to com-

ply with the Conditions,

At the same time so to maintain the Ballance in the Partition, as to oblige the King of France to accept of, and rest contented with the Particulars stipulated in their respective Leagues, without farther Encroachment, and to make themselves Trustees for the rest, in behalf of the Heir.

if It is already started as a Query, what if the King

* It appears they need have onely flood Neuter, for the French Power would ba' done the Work without them.

[†] This would ba been a bard thing to do, seeing all the Confederacy Can bardly sand their Ground against the French.

of France does except of the Partition, and the Emperer shou'd continue to stand out, the King of France is

then at Liberty to take the whole if he can get it.

No fuch Matter, I do not pretend to have been privy to the Debates, or of the Council, in the contriving this League, nor to be acquainted with what Provision is made, in case the Emperor refuses to come in, but in order to give a Judgment as near as can be done without Doors, as we call it. I shall briefly state the Reasons, which in my Opinion should move the English and Dutch to form this League: And the great Reason which, as I conceive, gave Birth to the first Project of this League, setting aside private Reasons of State, was the maintaining the Ballance of Power in Europe.

This has been the Foundation of all the Wars in our Age against the French, and in the last Ages against the

Spaniard and the Emperor.

A just Ballance of Power is the Life of Peace. * I question whether it be in the Humane Nature to fet Bounds to its own Ambition, and whether the best Man on Earth wou'd not be King over all the rest if he could. Every King in the World would be the Universal Monarch if he might, and nothing restrains but the Power of Neighbours; and if one Neighbour is not strong enough for another, he gets another Neighbour to join with him, and all the little ones will join to keep the great one from suppressing them. Hence comes Leagues and Confederacies; thus the German Protestants call'd in the Assistance of Gustavus Adolphus, to match the Power of the Emperor Ferdinand the II. and founded the famous League call'd the Conclusions of Leipfick, which brought the Imperial Power to the due Ballance which it now stands at on the Foot of the Treaty of Westphalia; so the French and the English assisted the Dutch to bring the Spanish Power

^{*} It has been a Question very much Debated, whether the Ballance of Power be a justifiable pretence for a War; and most Authors agree, that it is but strictly taken, I question it much.

Power to a Ballance in the time of Philip the II. when the Spanish Greatness began to be terrible to Europe, which Ballance was established in the Peace of Aix is

Chappel.

So the Power of France was brought to a Ballance, but not so equal as it might have been, had King Charles II. stood to his own Proposals at the Treaty of Nimeguen, the Defects of which Peace were in a great Measure the Occasion of this late War, which has been the longest, most chargeable, and most bloody that ever the French Nation has been engaged in since the Days of Francis the I.

their own Civil Wars excepted.

This War has brought the power of France to a Ballance, she had fortified her Frontiers with a continued Rampart, a Line of strong Cities from Hunninghen on the Confines of the Swiss, down the Rhine, the Mosell, and the Maese, to the very Sea-side, the greatest whereof she has been oblig'd to part with, to enable her Enemies to be their own Guarantees; by which in some places she is left so naked, that she is fain to build new Cities, or fortishe old ones to * supply the Vacancy, as at Brisack, and in other she lyes wholly open, as at Pigneroll; she has stoop'd to such a peace, as has made her far less formidable than before.

Now the precarious Life of the King of Spain gave the King of England just Umbrage, that this Ballance in which our safety so much consists, should receive a Shock to the prejudice of the Pretestant Interest, by the Additi-

on of the Spanish Dominion to that of France.

And here I place the Original of the Project, as a probable Conjecture, at least drawn from the Nature of things, according to rational Conclusions from probable premises, when better Grounds are made publick, I shall own my self mistaken.

When the Pretenders to the Spanish Succession are considered, they are found to be the Emperor and the

^{*} But in this New War, France supplies all, by being Master of the Field.

the King of France, the Prince of Bavaria being dead be-

To let the Emperor possess the Spanish Dominions, would be the overthrowing the Ballance made at the Westphalia Treaty, by which the House of Austria already strengthened by the Conquest of Hungaria, and the peace with the Turks would be too potent for the Princes of Germany, nor would the French like well that the Emperor, the Eternal Competitor of France upon the Rhine, should be strengthened with such an Addition, by which he would have been Lord of almost half the World.

* To let the French pellels the Spanish Dominions. would overthrow the Ballance Purchas'd in this War with fo much Blood and Treasure, and render fruitless the Treaty of Reswick. 'Twou'd especially ha' been Fatal to the English and Dutch, by the encrease of Wealth from the Mais of Money returning Yearly from the Empires of Mexico and Peru, which the French would be better Husbands of than the Spaniards; by their encrease of Shipping, which would make them too ftrong for all the World at Sea, and by their ruining the Spanish Trade, which is the greatest and most profitable in Europe; twould immediately unhinge all the Settlement of our Merchants and Factories, and turn the whole Channel of Trade; for the Ports of Spain being free to the French as Subjects, all our Negoce that way wou'd be destroy'd, then their Neighbourhood in Flanders, and in the West-Indies, would be intollerable and insupportable and to

Bb

Twou'd

And yet England did suffer the French to take a quiet possession of the Spanish Dominions, and Recogniz'd the Duke of Anjou, hanging Back 'till the Dutch were at the last Gasp of Ruin, and then took Arms too late; had it been, done Vigorously and Immediately, the French might habeen Anticipated, and great part of this War Prevented.

'Twould fill a Volume to set down the Inconveniencies which England and Holland must expect to seel, in Case the French were Masters of the Spanish Monarchy, the Streights-Mouth would be like the Sound, and all our Ships should pay Toll at Gibraltar, as they do at Elseneur; your Fishing Trade from New-England and Newfoundland would perish, for the French from the Banks of Newfoundland should go free, and you Pay 23 per Cent. &c. *We must erect an Admiralty in the West Indies, or maintain a Fleet there, or our Plantations would be always at his Mercy; our Collonies of Virginia, and New-England, would easily be destroy'd, while the French would lye on their backs quite thro' their Country from Canada to the City of Mexico.

These are some of the lesser Inconveniencies, which, as I presume, were the first Motives to the Treaty.

The Confederates therefore not being willing the French shou'd have Spain, and the French being resolved the Emperor should not have it, a Medium is proposed, that since it was not convenient for Europe, that either of them should have it all, and both of them had a Title to it, it should therefore be divided between them in Manner and Form, as aforesaid.

This is the short History of this League, which really has more of Policy than Right in it, for strictly Combered, if the Right of Succession can devolve but upon one Person, let that one be who it will, is not the present Business. But publick good, the Peace of Kingdoms, the General quiet of Europe prevails to set aside the Point of nice Justice, and determine in favour of the Publick Tranquility.

And I crave leave to make Two Observations here:
First, Our Jacobite-Protestant-Bretbren, whose Understandings are so blind, that they cannot see the Interest of

^{*} These things are now in a fair way of being make

[†] Q. the Honesty of that Principle, tho, all Nations bave practised it.

their Native Country, have here fairly represented to them the Condition England had now been in, and Europe in General, if a Papist and Confederate with France had been on the English Throne; if England had not had a King who cou'd so far Instruence the Ambition of the powerful Prince, as to prevent his seizing that Monarchy of Spain, which none but England could hinder him from.

Secondly, Our Non-jurants who hold the right Lines of Princes such Sacred things, may see that even among Hereditary Princes themselves, the Rights of Succession are oftentimes infringed, and the private Interest of Princes and Families set aside, when the publick Interest of Nations, the Preservation of Peace, and the keeping a General Ballance of Power among Princes, comes to be the Question, and the Histories of all Ages and Nations give Instances to Prove it as well as this.

Having thus run thro' the Reasons of this League of Partition, the Question is answer'd of course, that if the Emperor should refuse to come into the Partition, and push for the whole, yet the King of France is not thereby at Liberty to possess the whole, if he can, for that wou'd overthrow all the Measures upon which the League of Par-

tition is built.

The Emperor is not so weak a Prince to resuse the Kingdom of Spain with all its &c's in the Ocean, Flanders, and America, but upon some Expectation to get more; the Confederates therefore are to preserve that part which is design'd him free, and then effectually to put it out of his Power to obtain the rest, and withal, not to admit him into the part Reserv'd for him, till he agrees, to accept it on the Terms proposed, if he shou'd absolutely resuse it, which is a ridiculous Supposition, there are other Heirs of that Line to have recourse to; there's no doubt the Crown of Spain, need not go a begging for an Heir.

It may be answered, If it be thus, it is the Emperor's best Course to lay his Messures for the whole; and if he cannot carry it, he may accept of the Partition at last.

Bb 2 That's

That's more than the Objector may be able to prove how far the Confederates may think fit to bestow the remainder, if the Emperor after a War shou'd be reduc'd to accept of it, is more than any one can answer, and more than the Emperor will try, if he be not infatuated worse than ever a certain King was; who, if he had not, might ha' been a King still.

The Second Branch of the Answer is, supposing the King of France shou'd so far forget himself, as to quit the League of Partition, and Claim the Crown of Spain for his Grandson P Duk d'Anjou, by virtue of the Will of the

King Defunct.

It must certainly then be the Interest of England and Holland, * first to put themselves in such a posture as may prevent the French King seizing of Spain it self, and Flanders in particular.

And upon the first Invasion of the Territories of Spain by the French King, to declare War against him in the Name of the whole Confederacy, as an Infringer of the

Grand Peace at Reswick. +

And then by appearing on the Frontiers in such a formidable manner as shall give him Diversion enough, that he may not be able to enter Spain with any considerable Forces.

The first of these things is to be done immediately, by fitting out a good Fleet, which should so from the Mediterranean, that the French wou'd not be able to do much on the side of Catalonia; for Experience has told us, a Fleet at Sea will make their War in Catalonia very uneasse to them, and by landing a small Force of about Eight or Ten Thousand Men at Fonterabia, which should be sufficient to Defend that side of the Country from the Invasions of the French.

But this Pamphlet is not wrote to direct Methods, but to argue the general Point:

The Conclusion of the Argument must come to that

^{*} This they Omitted 'till it was too late.

[†] This was the Consequence, tho' not timely enough.

fort of People, who have appeared such Champions for our English Liberty, as to damn all kind of force, as useless, burthensome to the Kingdom, and Badges of slavery, and all Arguments to be only pretences for supporting Arbitrary Designs.

If the French shou'd attack Spain, I am far from saying I am glad they will be convinc'd; but I must say I am sorry the people of England have been deluded by their

specious pretences.

For if the French carry the Spanish Monarchy, for want of our being in a Condition to prevent it; I am bold to tell those Gentlemen, God Almighty must be put to the trouble of working another Miracle to save us, or we are

reduc'd to a very dangerous Condition.

But say they, we have a great Fleet, and in that we are safe; it is true, Gentlemen, so we are from Invasion, I believe we need not fear all the World; but what is England without its Trade, without its Plantation Trade, Turky and Spanish Trade, and where will that be when a French Garrison is planted at Cadiz, and the French Fleet brings home the Plate from Havana.

What will the Virginia Collonies be worth when the French come to be strong in the Lakes of Canada, and have a free Commerce from Quebeck to Mexico behind ye? What will our Northern Trade be worth in a War, when the Ports of Osend and Newport are as full of Pirates as

Dunkirk and St. Malo.

A wise Man cannot patiently resect upon the formidable power of France, with the Addition of the Spanish Dominion, and should he at last annex it to the Crown of France, who can consider without Horrour, that all the Ports from Sluce in Flanders, to the Fare of Messina in Sicily, should be in the Hands of the French, which is a Coast of near 3000 Miles, Portugal, Genova, and Legborn excepted; and how long they will hold out, is easie to imagine.

I know God can prevent Humane Contrivances, and
Bb3

Both these Heads appear too true.

I believe he has plac'd King William on the English Throne, on purpose to disappoint this Invincible Monarch in these vast Designs, but no thanks to our Gentlemen that have so weakned both his Hands and his Interest at home, as to make him less able to perform for us what is more our own Advantage than his Majesty's would be, and than the Case requir'd.

As to Ways and Means I meddle not with them, I leave them to the wife Heads of the Nation, but with Submission to their Judgment, this I am positive in, let our Measures be what they will, if we do not keep the Enemy, the French I mean, out of Spain, we are

undone.

In all the Histories of Times and Wars, I never read of a General who would not chuse to be Master of the Field, and able to fight his Enemy, rather than to be coop'd up, and bound to defend the Walls of a Town.

If the French get the Spanish Crown, we are beaten out of the Field as to Trade, and are belieged in our own Illand, and never let us flatter our selves with our Safety confifting fo much in our Fleet; for this I prefume to lay down as a fundamental Axiom, at least as the Wars go of late, 'tis not the longest Sword, but the longest Purse that Conquers. If the French get Spain, they get the greatest Trade in the World in their Hands; they that have the most Trade, will have the most Money, and they that have the most Money, will have the most Ships, the best Fleet, and the best Armies; and if once the French malter us at Sea, where are we then? And though I would not lessen our Fleet, which I believe is now the best in the World, yet he that looks back to the French Fleet before their Misfortune, will tell you that all our English was not able to look them in the Face, if we had no Dutch on our fide, and hardly with the Dutch and us together.

I am Answer'd by some, that if the French should have

But their Heads appear

have Spain, we shall Trade thither still, they cannot do without our Manufactures. *1

To this, I answer, time was, France could not Trade without our Manufactures. Now they are fallen into them to such a Degree, that they only want Wool, and they have Hands enough to supply all the World with Manufactures, and they are so supplied with that from one Place or another, that they Buy none of our Goods now, or but a trifle; and if the Ports of Spain come to be filled with French, they will fill every Place with their Goods, as well as People.

Besides, the Laws of Trade when Masters of the Ports will bring all Nations to Trade under foot with them, and with great disadvantages and hardships which will in the end ruin all that Trade that does not run thro' their own

Hands.

The present King of France, like a wise Governor, puts his People upon all manner of Improvements; tho the Spaniards are a slothful Nation, if the French Diligence comes once to thrive in Spain, he knows little of Spain, that does not know they are capable of Improvements, several ways to the disadvantage of the English Trade.

I'll give but one Instance, Spain is a very hot Country, and yet such is the Constancy of the Spaniard to the Old ridiculous Custom, that they wear their Cloaks of course black English Bays, should the French King, when he is Master of Spain, forbid the Spaniards the wearing of Bays, and introduce some antick French Druget, or other thin Stuff, such as they make in Normandy, it wou'd at once destroy our Trade of Bays, which is the noblest Manufacture in many respects that we have in England, and send 40 Thousand People, who depend on that Trade, to B b 4

^{*} This has appear'd to be a Mistake, for as soon as ever this War began, they immediately probibited all our Trade, and the French have now an open Trade to America, and supply the Spaniards with their Toys, instead of our Manufactures.

beg their Bread, or feek other work, which other work must of Consequence lessen the Employment of other Poor Families which it maintain'd before.

I con'd give many Instances of the like Nature, as for one more, should they Prohibit the Exportation of Spanish Wool, and Manufacture it among themselves, or into Erance; let the West-Country Clothiers speak for themselves, and say what strange work it wou'd make among them, or our Hamborough Merchants give an Account what their Trade wou'd come to, where they are outdone already in course Cloth, and would have no finer to send to Market.

I know not but I may present the World with a short Account by it self, of all the Sensible Losses our Trade will come under, if the Kingdom of Spain should fall into the Hands of the French, tho' methinks it should be needless to run thro' it, the meanest Understanding being capable to know that the greatest Part of the Wealth of this Nation has been, and is still rais'd by the Gainful Trade we have with the Spaniards.

It should be not lade to the sample of the space of the sample of the space of the space of the space of the sample of the sampl

There is appeared to be a Mifale, for as you at their

s Spanish als mad their thirty collede of the action

the Freedhilling non- on sport a role to plant the

B D A

H. H. T. ade of Base, which is a second of H. E. and a second of depend on that the second of the se

The Two Great Questions

Further CONSIDERED.

With some Reply to the Remarks.

Non Licet Hominem Muliebriter rixare.

The PREFACE.

This Billingsgate Authorshou'd have gone without any other Notice than the Contempt of Silence; no Answer eing the best Reply to so much scurrility, had he not made simself such a Champion for the English Nation, and Pariament; who, God knows, need no such Advocate, and nade himself a personal Antagonist to the Author of the Pamblet be Remarks on.

I shall say nothing at all to the ill Language and scurrilous terms he hestows on me, but Conclude with a Remark on it in the Lines of a late Poet.

That Disputants, when Reasons fail, Have one sure Shift, and that's to Rail.

Since then his Passion has put him out of Temper, and tranported him beyond the bounds of Decency and good Manners,
I shall leave him to come to himself again, by the helps of Time,
Skeep, and such other proper Remedies for Menthat are Craz'd
and Distemper'd, and Address my self to that part of Manind who are Masters of their Senses.

Of all Men in this Town, the Author of the Two Questions Consider'd, was never yet suspected of being a Courtier, an Advocate for standing Armies, an Insulter of Parliaments, but just the contrary, as will appear, if ever he is called to

Shew bimfelf.

But because he took the Liberty to put his Thoughts in Print, on the Extraordinary Juncture of Affairs, on Account of the Spanish Succession, and he finds that some People are mistaken both in him, and in the Intent of his Book; he therefore Craves leave of the Publick to Explain himself in some things, in which he little thought any Body would have been fo weak as n mistake him.

The Two Great Questions Further

CONSIDERED.

BEFORE I enter into the Particulars of the Book I am going to vindicate, I must defire the Redder to observe, that this Book was wrote before the French King had declar'd He would accept the King of Spain's Will, or had receiv'd the Duke d'Anjou as King

of Spain.

And therefore when I speak of the King of Francis seizing of Spain, or seizing of Flanders. I desire to be understood seizing it for himself, to annex it to the Crown of France, a thing that hath all along, by all the Princes and States of Europe, been counted, and really is, inconsistent with the Peace of Europe; and any Man, but such an Author as our Remarker, wou'd understand me so, when I say Page 22. and quoted by him, Page 9. It must certainly be the Interest of England and Holland suffice the put themselves in such a Posture, as may prevent the French King's seizing of Spain; and the next Words express it directly, viz. And upon the first Invasion of the Territorial

erritories of Spain, to declare War against bim in the Name, the whole Confederacy, as an Infringer of the Grand Peace Reswick.

I need but appeal to any Man's Reason whether the rench King's seizing or invading of Spain can mean any ing, but the French King's seizing or invading of Spain, id is as explicite as Words can make it, and wou'd cer-

inly be a Breach of the Peace of Reswick.

The Remarker, Page 6. tells the World the Question but the English ought to do, is a Shooing-horn to draw on that some People mightily want, a standing Army, and ten in his rude Dialect runs on against the Soldiery, and then he has done, to put a Value on his Argument, magistes our Nation to such a degree, as no Man, who is sentile of the Power and Designs of our Neighbours, can also we to be so much as rational.

I must first answer his presumptive Suggestion, and then

roceed.

1

I take leave to assure all the World that shall read these neets, that by all the Expressions of Forces, Posture of the lation, and the like, I do mean, and do desire to be undersood to mean, * such Force, and no other, such a Posture of efence, and no other, as by the King, Lords and Comsons assembled in Parliament, shall be thought necessary the Sasety of the Kingdom, and Support of our Trade and Interest in the World.

Why else do I say, England shou'd put her self into such Posture? By England, an Englishman always understands to Parliament of England, and no Man in his Wits wou'd

pagine otherwise.

Now did ever Parliament in England talk in this Geneman's Dialect? That if we have a Fleet, and no Army, no atter if all the World Confederated against us; and did ever get any thing by Foreign Alliances? Are Confederacies adantageous to us? And the like.

Surely,

^{*} Vid. Argument for a standing Army being lawful, if its Consent of Parliament.

Surely, they Ithat are of the Opinion that Englands able to Fight the whole World, know very little of the World, and do not remember that in this very War, he we had no Confederates, the War had been in our on Bowels, whereas this we got by Foreign Alliances, the we carried the War to our Neighbours Doors; had not the Spaniards, Germans, and Dutch, joined in a Confederacy; the French King had met with no Work to Divert him from giving King James such Powerld Assistance as might have prevented our Revolution; now but a Mad Man can deny that 'twas the Union of the Confederates that was the Protection of England.

The Remarker tells us the Revolution was a Miracle and so it was; but, says he, 'Twas a Miracle that well not do it without Foreign belp. I am sure it wou'd ha' be a Miracle if we had; and I Appeal to any Man that he not forgot the State of England, at that time, to be Judge

of it.

That we shou'd not reduce King James to Reason by our own Native Strength, was a Miracle, says he; That is, that we did not rise and pull his Army to pieces; it this Gentleman had not forgot his own Story, he could no ver thus contradict himself.

If our own Native Strength is so much Superior to a Army, that 'tis a Miracle they did not recover themselve without other help; then Ridiculus mus, the dreads Spectrum of a Standing Army is lost, and all our Dange of being enslav'd is at an end.

I have as great an Opinion of the Bravery of the English Nation, as any Man; but it does not use to the Temper of the English to run on such Rhodoman

rado's.

'I is no disparageing the English Nation, to say, This as Affairs now Stand, they are not a match for the French Power without the help of Confederates. I am no Tribetor to my Country, as he is pleased to call me, if I om that our Militia are not able to Fight a French Army. By Grant they were, 'tis not Invasion of our Native Country that we are upon, God forbid we shou'd have Occasion

Provide against that; but 'tis always the Interest of igland to keep Danger at a distance, and it has been the actice of England to do it by Leagues and Confederacies,

the only proper Method.

IN

not

has

This Gentleman upbraids me with Reading; truly I we Read all the Histories of Europe, that are extant in r Language, and some in other Languages, and amongst e rest, I have Read that Queen Elizabeth supported the utch, and supplied them with Men and Money, that edid the like by the Hugonots of France, and afterwards adea League offensive with the King of France; and why? I our Histories agree it was to keep the Forces of Phithe Second so employ'd, that he shou'd not be at leite to turn all his Power upon her. Thus she manag'd War with him abroad, and kept England from being a Field of Blood; and this England got by a Confedercy abroad.

And I'll give another Instance, which no Man can have Face to deny; when the Spanish Fleet lay at Anchor, I had yet received no such considerable Damage from r Ships, as to prevent their Landing, the Dutch lay with it Fleet on the Flemish Coast at the procurement of the seen, and thereby prevented the Duke of Parma bring over 30000 Spaniards into England, which if they had ne, the Fate of England must have been tryed by the ord; and on her own Ground. Behold the Benefit of

lies.

If I have Panegyrick'd on the Reputation of the King the Head of a War-like Nation, I have done nothing, what all the World own his Due, and what we have Authority of Parliaments for, who have own'd him the Saviour of these Nations from Popery and Arrary Power, at the Expence of his own Personal Zard. I need not Quote the many Addresses of Parment, as the Voice of the whole Nation, for my Aurity: As for places at Court or Pensions, the Author ver had nor desired any, but hopes a Man may be alved to speak what Truth and Honour obliges every in to do of a King, that has deserved so much of

the English Nation, without the Reproach of a railing Scribler.

I must further Explain my self in Desence of what I thought no Man wou'd have had Baseness enough to Suggest. That when I speak of a sort of People, who have appear'd such Champions of our English Liberties, as to dam all kind of Force, as useless, burthensome to the Kingdom, Badges of Slavery, and all Arguments to be only pretences for supporting Arbitrary Designs, I should mean by these the Parliament of England.

Far be it from the Thoughts of any honest Man to imagine such a thing; nor is it rational that I cou'd Suggest such a thing of the Parliament, for as his own Words consutes him, The Parliament, says he, never did dame all Force as ufeless. Very true, Sir, how then can you imagine any Man cou'd mean the Parliament, who never did any such thing? Nothing can be so absurd, and there

I leave it.

But since I am charged with intending those whom! really never thought of, nor no Rational Man cou'd suppose, give me leave to tell the World, who it is I do mean, when I say, There are a fort of People who have appear'd such Champions of our English Liberty, as to damp all kind of Force as useless. I mean the Pamphletering Club, who have set themselves to Blaspheme God, and Ruin their Native Country, and in Print to sow the Seeds of Misunderstanding and Distrust between the King and his People.

The Club where the Blessed Trinity is openly derided, in Print lampoon'd, and shamefully in the Face of a Prote-

Stant Government abus'd and ridicul'd.

That Club of Men who pretend to guide Parliaments, and prescribe to them what they are to do; who are so openly against Force, that they leave us naked for a Pres, even to the most Contemptible Treasons.

That Club that sent out a blasphemous Poem lately under the borow'd Name of Clito, where the Deity of our Saviour is denied, and then the very Being of the English

Monarchy undermin'd.

That

That Club that denies Englishmen the use of their Reason, and will not allow that even the Parliament of England can appoint such Powers as are necessary to our Defence.

These are the Champions of our Liberty, that I direct-

ly mean, who damn all kind of Force as useless.

These are they who have sent out this Pamphlet into the World, and have brought the Author of the Two Questions to the Bar of the House right or wrong: these are the Men who tell us Confederacies and Alliances are useless, and all Forces oppressive; that say they are not yet rid of Slavery, because the King has his Guards left; as if Forces in England by consent of Parliament could be a Grievance.

Who the they cry up Parliaments, as those by whom Kings reign, yet will not allow them to be Judges of what is, or what is not Convenient, but will have the Lord Treasurer, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Admiral be nam'd by the Parliament, because the Word England is added to their Titles.

These, and none but these, are the Persons who I mean all along, when I say, They have deluded the People of England by their specious Pretences; and nothing can be plainer than that they have carried on a Pen and Ink War against the Reputation of the King obliquely, and sometimes directly reproaching him, with Designs to enslave the Nation, whom he came to set free, and to rob us of those Liberties which he ventured his Life to save.

These are the Men who I mean, when I say, they have weakned his Hands, and his Interest at home, which they have certainly done, by endeavouring to lessen his Reputation, and to suggest to his Subjects, that he will invade their Liberties.

These are the Men who think they cannot be answered, without concerning the Parliament in their Quarrel; who to bring the King into Contempt with his Subjects, for whom he has done so much, and from whom he has teceived so many Thanks and Acknowledgments, represent

fent him attempting to destroy our Liberties by Standing Armies; and if they are answered, pretend to fright their Adversaries with the Parliament, as if nothing could be said to the Point, without reflecting on the Parliament.

To these People let me take the Liberty to say, tho the Matter of Armies was no ways the Case in this Assair, that this Author does affirm, and will answer it any where.

That a Standing Army in England, in time of Peace, is not against Law, nor inconsistent with the Constitution of England. Provided it be by Consent of Parliament. To avoid all manner of Disputes in this Point, my Authority is unquestionable, being the Parliament of England themselves, or Convention, which is equivolent, in the Sixth Article of the Declaration of the Rights of the People, declard by the Commons of England. These are the Words.

That the raising and keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace (unless it be by consent of Par-

liament) is unlawful.

This was once urged to these Gentlemen before, but a thing they cou'd never answer; they took no notice of

it, and here I leave it with this Remark.

That I do, and every English Protestant will always consent to have such, and so many Forces rais'd, maintain'd, and kept up in England, and no more; as the King, Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament shall think needs for our Common Preservation, and the safety of the Nation's Interests.

This is the middle way between both Extreams, and nothing in the Book this Remarker treats so scurvily, can give any rational Ground to charge me with proposing farther.

Nor has the King himself attempted to keep up and Forces, but with Consent of Parliament, and has assured us he never will.

I have done with this railing Author, and indeed had not meddled with him at all, only to explain my felf in the Perfons I mean thro'out the Book he reflects on; and mething

methinks no Man cou'd imagine any Author wou'd be fuch a Fool to treat the Parliament of England in fuch a manner, as I have done the People I speak of, while he knows the Power of the Parliament to blaft fuch a one with their Mouth.

Without troubling the Reader any more with my Remarker, or but by the by, where I am oblig'd to come athwart him, I shall take this Opportunity to fay what I wou'd have faid before, had it been known that the King of France wou'd have declar'd his Grandson King of Spain.

And I shall lay it down as a further Answer to the

grand Question.

What Measures England ought to take?

The League for the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy being not made publick, and propos'd to the English Parliament, says some, is no League at all, and therefore England has nothing at all to do with it.

If what such say be true, which yet I do not believe, then whenever his Majesty please to call a Parliament, and acquaint them of it, it becomes an English League, for no Man ever yet disputed, but that the Power of making Leagues and Treaties, either for Peace or War, was committed to the Kings of England, nor can he tell us of a League ever made in England, which was first discuss'd in Parliament, when we had a King to be treated with.

All that I have yet faid we ought to do, amounts to no more than this, that England ought to put her self into such a Posture with the rest of her Neighbours, as that the may be able to preserve the Peace lately purchased at so dear a Rate, and to preserve her Trade, upon which

the whole Nation fo much depends.

If People will have me to mean a standing Army whether I will or no, I cannot help it; but I say again it may be done without a Standing Army, and where is your Argument then? Of which I cou'd fay more, but I have not room for it here.

I did affirm it was a weak thing of the King of Spain

to pretend to give his Kingdom by Will, and I am of the Opinion we shall hear that he really did not do so; that is, that there was some Practices made use of to procure such a Will, * as in the true Sense of a last Will and Testament makes it void in its own Nature.

But be it which way it will, it is an odd way of devolving the Succession of Crowns; and here I cannot help meeting our Remarker again: "That notwithstanding

"all Deeds of Gift, or other Titles whatever, if the good People of Spain own him as their King, and allow him the Sovereignty, he has the most undoubted

"Title to the Kingdom of any in the World.

Though our Author is not worth answering, having right Notion is his Head, but not the Sense to put it in tell him,

That in the main his Argument is true, and yet the

Consequence is false. For,

The good People of Spain, as he calls them, whole Country is their own, have all along agreed that their Crown shall descend by the direct Line, to the lawful list of the House of Austria, Successors to Ferdinand and shella, in whom the contending Crowns of Arragon and Castile were united; this our Author may find stipulated in the Contract between those two Families, and sign'd to by the Council, call'd by them the great Council of Spain, which is the same thing with them as a Parliament. The the good People of Spain acquiesc'd, and have all along submitted to the Successors of that Family, as their undoubted rightful Kings.

Now if it be the People's Act and Deed, that the Sw cession of the House of Arragon or Austria shall possess to Crown of Spain, then the Duke D'Anjou has no more Tite to the Crown of Spain than the Czar of Muscovy, as said before, while the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy in alive, unless the People of Spain legally Convocated in

Declar'd the Throne vacant.

* The Manifesto of the Allmirante de Castile, has met this Suggestion appear very just.

And to go on with the Argument, in the same Notion of the People's Right to make Kings, which is what these

Gentlemen are so fond of.

When the People of a Nation have by any publick Act Legally made, entail'd the Crown, or committed the Government of themselves, or what he pleases to call it, to such or such a Family, and such and such Heirs, I hope they will allow then that such and such Heirs have a Right, till the same which gave them their Right, in the same legal Manner, do publickly rescind, alter, or repeal the former Settlement on which that Right was founded.

If this be true, then where is this Publick Act of the People of Spain to rescind the Former Title of the House of Arragon? To say they have not disclaim'd the Duke d'Anjou, what a ridiculous Argument is that, the Settlement they have agreed to, is not Repeal'd, nor the Great Council of the State been call'd to Debate it; nor is there any need of it, for the Heirs are in Being, the

Throne is not Vacant.

Now if you will form a Legal Title for the Duke d' Anjou, on this Gentleman's Notion of the Peoples Right, it

must be thus.

The Dauphin is the Immediate Heir, but he refuses to accept of the Crown for himself, and his Eldest Son; then the Great Council of the State, which is the People of Spain, ought in this Emergency to have been call'd, to Consider to whom they wou'd dispose of the Crown, or to whom they wou'd Submit; and if this be true, as I am sure by this Doctrine it cannot be otherwise, they may as well bestow their Crown on the Emperor of Morocco, saving his being a Mahometan, as on the Duke d'Anjou.

Also, if all Titles be deriv'd thus from the People, and any one that they will Accept, is Lawful King: Why hou'd I be blam'd for saying, 'twas a weak thing for the King of Spain to give away his Kingdom by his Will,

which he had no Power to do?

It had been much wiser to have call'd the Great Counsil of the Nation together, and have caus'd them to settle CC2 the Succession, as they thought fit, as the only Persons who had a Right to do it.

Another Consequence I must draw from this Doctrine of the Peoples Right, which the Gentlemen are not His

storians enough it seems to know.

If it be the Peoples Right to dispose of the Government, as they see sit, as in the Case of a Vacancy of the Throne No body doubts; then let the Title to the Crown of Spain, be whose it will, 'tis none of the Duke d'Anjou's; for in the samous Treaty of the Pyrenees, where the Match was made, from whence this Title does proceed; the Renunciation made by the French to the Crown of Spain; was Sign'd on both sides, by the Princes of the Blood on behalf of the French, and by the Grandees and Plenipotentiaries on the behalf of Spain; and this was to significant it was an Agreement, not Personal only, but National; and that therein the People of Spain did renounce all Subjection to the Issue of that Marriage.

Now to pretend this can be rescinded by the Will of the late King, or the Call to the Duke d'Anjou from Six or Seven Counsellors nominated by the King, this is to destroy all the Pretence of the Right of the People, and so humbly Conceive by their Doctrine, the present Title of the Duke d'Anjou is fallen to the Ground.

What the People of Spain may do when a French Power may have put the Duke d'Anjou in Possession, and they see no body to help them, I cannot tell, but at present he has no visible Title, either from the Call or Consent of the People, or by Legal Succession.

'Tis next proper to Enquire what is all this to us who

is King of Spain?

I Confess I see less Cause to apprehend Danger from Spain, under this way of Succession, than I shou'd have done if the French had attempted to Possess it as a Devolution to their Monarchy, and put it all into one Government, which is what I meant, and what any Man that understands English must understand by it, when I said, Page and quoted by him, P. 13.

If the French carry the Spanish Monarchy.

Truly, If the French carry the Spanish Monarchy, that is, obtain'd the Possession of it to themselves, I appeal to all the World if we are not in a dangerous Condition, and how foolish is it to say with our Author, P. 14. I care not who is King of France or Spain, so the King of England Governs according to Law. 'Tis a barbarous and impudent Resection on the King, who never yet has broken any of our Laws, and has no Relation to the Case in hand, but to show that the Publisher wants Manners as well as Sense.

But now the French King has refolv'd to make the Duke d'Anjou King of Spain, what is our Danger from

that?

Ishall not go much on Conjecture, but I shall go on

the same foot as before.

France can Propose no Benefit fairly by it, but the drawing the Spaniards off from the Confederates, and League-

ing them with himself.

If he will do thus, he will strengthen his Interest very much, as well as weaken his Enemies; but then he must be sure not to encroach upon the Spanish Monarchy; which if he does, as I said in the other part of this Discourse, he will find the Duke d'Anjou King of. Spain, as well as a Prince of Bourbon.

But if the King of France shou'd put the Duke d'Anjou upon such Methods of Government, as shou'd recover the Spanish Greatness, and make that Wealthy Nation Masters of themselves again, as they formerly were, and find out ways to Unite the Interests of the two Nations, the Ballance of Power in Europe is again quite overturn'd, and there is our Danger.

Before I descend to Particulars, I'll explain the Terms

to avoid the Impertinence of another Remarker.

If the King of France shou'd find out a way to Unite the Interest of the two Nations, by this I understand in short,

C c 3 making

making the Prosperity of one, necessary for the Safety of

the other, and so vice versa.

I cou'd explain my self how this may be done too, but 'tis too large for a Pamphlet. joining Interests is joyning Nations. Affinities, Leagues, and Treaties are Triss; where has there been more Intermarriages, than between the two Northern Crowns? And yet never more Jealousies, nor difference of Interest.

Where has there been more Antipathies, more contrariety in Temper, and Religion, than between the Dutch and Spaniards? And yet their Interest has overcome all

Animosities, and made them strict Confederates.

To say a strict Confederacy and Conjunction of Interests between Spain and France will do us no harm, is the Estect of a stupid ignorance; and no Man can say it, but it that has the Face to say Foreign Alliances are of no use to us.

'Tis plain, the Trade we drive to Spain, is without Dispute, the best, the greatest, and most profitable Trade we have; 'tis plain and known to all Men that understand that Trade, that 'tis driven by way of Factory, and carried on by Englishmen, and by English Stocks; I'll lay the present Case upon one Article only.

If the French obtain so much by their Amity with Spain, that upon every Breach with France, our Merchants and their Effects shall be seized in the Spanish Dominions, as is the Custom of the Country: Whenever the French please to insult us, we are at their Mercy; if we break

with them, we are ruin'd.

Why have we all along been so tender of a Peace with Spain? Why so careful not to Affront them? Why so ready to protect them with our Fleet and Forces, but because our Effects there are so Considerable, that the very Soul of our Trade is Dependant upon it; and is there no Danger in having all this lie at the Mercy of the French?

Some think all the World must Trade with us, and our Manusactures will Force their own way, and the French can do us no harm, says our Wise Remarker, "If the Lords

"Lords of the Treasury would take care to prevent the "Exportation of Wooll.

He might as well ha' thrown that upon the Parliament too, unless he can make it out that the Lords have not

prevented it.

ut

But he is as blind a Merchant, as he is a Geographer, when he fays, p. 21. Portugal is environ'd with the Territories of France and Spain, when every Body knows, not a Foot of the Territories of France, comes within a Hundred Leagues of Portugal; and in the same Page talks of Forces Landing in Holland, and forcing their way thro' the Spanish Netberlands into Germany, which is no more the Road out of Holland into Germany, than to go to West-Ghester, is the Road to Edinburgh; I suppose this Gentleman never went up the Rhine into Germany: And then to mend the matter, tells us that is the Way to come on the back of Spain, in which he forgets to Consult his Map again, where he wou'd ha' found the whole Kingdom of France, with the Swifs Cantons, or the Savoyards, between Spain and the nearest part of Germany, besides the Alps and the Pyrenees to get over, and the French to be fought with: This is such a Marcher of an Army, the Devil wou'd not be a Musqueteer under him.

And thus infatued he is in Trade; tho' there were really no Wool went out of England, yet the French, Dutch, and Germans would always be advancing upon our Manufactures, our English Wool is a great Commodity in France, but in Holland, and at Hamburgh it is not half fo valu'd, and

yet they out-do us in many of our Manufactures.

Besides, Scotland and Ireland are Back-doors, at which our Wool manifestly goes Abroad in quantities, the rest is by Stealth, and what can the Lords of the Treasury do in that. But he that loves to Cavil, will have something to say to every Body.

I think I have stated a Case wherein a Union of Interest between France and Spain will be very satal to Trade. I Refer the Reader to what I have hinted in the former

Book for more of the like.

I descend now to Maters of Strength; all Men must allow

low that the Prosperity of this, and of most Nations, depends upon Peace; foe if Peace be not preserv'd, Trade must suffer; and if Trade suffer, the Poor suffer, and so on.

Now, as is already noted, the Ballance of Power is the Life of Peace, and here is your Ballance broken; as I said before, I say again; it is not enough to say we have a good Fleet, tho' it be the best in the World, and I do not think our Remarker can prove that to be a Contradiction, any more than he can prove that to go by Germa-

my is the way to come on the Back of Spain.

If our Fleet were Masters at Sea, 'tis true it might preferve us from Invasion, and we are not afraid of it, but a Thousand Men of War wou'd not entirely suppress the Privateers of France and Spain from injuring our Trade, and snapping up our Merchants; nor wou'd a Fleet ever reduce the French in Conjunction with the Spaniard to Peace with you, if they were whole and unbroken in their Land Forces.

Nor is it enough if a Fleet cou'd secure our Ships; if your Peace be precarious, 'tis no Peace; and if you are not a Match for your Adversaries, you shall have no Peace

at all any longer than they please.

Why do all Nations covet to strengthen themselves by Leagues and Confederacies, but to put themselves into a Condition to be fear'd by their Neighbours; and if we leave our selves without Forces, and without Alliances abroad, we are like to be very little valued by Neighbours.

From all these Considerations I think this Conclusion is very natural. That England ought so to Act, as to oblige the French to perform all the Leagues, Articles and Agreements which they have entred into with us, and which the King for Preservation of our Peace and Trade has thought fit to engage them in for.

Of what Value will the French King make any Treaties with the English Nation, if at his Pleasure they shall be laid aside, without any Notice taken by us? If he esteems us not in a Condition to resent a Breach of Faith, when our

Interest

Interest is so much engag'd, what Notice can we expect

he shou'd ever take of us in any Treaty?

This is certainly the way to make it true, that no Nation will trouble their Heads to Confederate with us; if when we have Confederated with them, we let the Enemy infult us all, and bank our Confederates in such Resentments, as the nature of the thing requires.

If the French King can be reduc'd to Reason without a War, an Army or Fleet, no doubt 'tis best, but any of them are less Evils than a Union of Interests between Spain and France, and such a Confederacy, as may hereafter league against England, to the Destraction of our Con-

federates, and of our Trade.

The Debate here is not a Standing Army in England, but the Kingdom of Spain falling into the French Interests, let the King and the Parliament alone to the Methods, if it may be done by paying Foreign Forces, or by no Forces, in the Name of God, Amen: But to say 'tis nothing to us who is King of Spain, is as ridiculous as to say 'tis no matter to us who has the Kingdom of Ireland.

And if I were to speak of annexing the Spanish Dominions to the Crown of France, I believe it would be less Loss to England to give the French the whole Kingdom of

Ireland, than to fuffer it.

distribution albitrated at the

Het all of the transfer and

4741 Scome and a distribution

An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity,

SHEWING,

That the Dissenters are no ways concern'd in it.

HE that Opposes his own Judgment against the Current of the Times, ought to be back'd with unanswerable Truths; and he that has that Truth on his Side is a Fool, as well as a Coward, if he is afraid to own it, because of the Currency or Multitude of other Mens 0 pinions.

'Tis hard for a Man to fay, all the World is mistake

but himself; but if it be so, who can help it

But fince 'tis not likely a Single Vote shou'd prevailspon Espons'd Errors, in an Age where every one is so fond of themselves, he that starts Truth by himself, must expect the World will stand still and look on till they see the Issue.

The Act depending in the House of Commons about Occasional Conformity has set abundance of Heads to work in the World; and be the House in the Right, or in the Wrong, I know my own Business, and their Temper too well to meddle with it: But I pretend to say, that all Men I have met with, who have meddled with the Argument, either in Print or otherwise, are manifestly Minstaken.

With more Humility therefore than I owe to any Man, I ask leave not to be Cenfur'd till I am Hear'd; and those who call me Arrogant before, reprove me with more Arrogance than is their share among their Fellow Creatures.

But since I, who was altogether born in Sin, have under taken to teach my Superiors, I desire to explain my self before they cast me out of the Synagogue.

For as that Blind Man thought 'twas a Marvellous thing, they should not know whence he came that had opened his Eyes.

So to me 'tis every jot as wonderful to find no Body of my Mind, and yet be Politively affur'd that I am in the

Right.

The Subject I am upon needs no Introduction, the Hiftory is in every Man's Knowledge; the Parliament are
upon a Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity, and about
that Bill the Press swarms with Pamphlets; the Pulpit
sounds with Exaltations on one Hand, and Deprecations
on the other; every one speak their Opinions, some their
Hopes, some their Fears, and so it shou'd have been to
the end of the Chapter, if I cou'd have found but one
middle Sort, that, free from Prejudice of Parties, cou'd
have discern'd the Native State of the Case as it really is,
discover'd from the Passions and Follies of Men.

About their Act of Parliament I affirm most of the People I have met with are Mistaken; and that I may be as Explicit as I can, I shall enquire more particularly who are mistaken, how, and then I doubt not the sequel of this Paper shall make it appear that the Fact is true.

First, All those People who design'd the Act as a Blow

to the Dissenting Interest in England; are mistaken.

Secondly, All those who take it as a Prelude or Introduction to the further Suppressing of the Dissenters, and a Step to Repealing the Toleration, or intend it as such, are Mistaken.

Thirdly. All those who think the Dissenters at all concern'd in it, or have design'd to Mortisse them by it, are Mistaken.

Fourthly, All those Hot-Spurs of Divinity who Prophesie Destruction from the Pulpit, and from this Step pretend to foretel that the time of Plund'ring their Brethren is at Hand, are Mistaken.

Fifthly, All those Flegmatick Dissenters who fancy themselves undone, and that Persecution and Desolation

is at the Door again, are Mistaken.

Sixthly, All those Dissenters, who are really at all Di-

sturb'd at it, either as an Advantage gain'd by their Enemies, or as a real Disaster upon themselves, are Mistaken.

Seventbly, All those Dissenters who Deprecate it as a Judgment, or wou'd Vote against it, if it were in their Power, are Mistaken.

Eighthly, That all those who begun or promoted this Bill with a Design to Ruin, Weaken, and Destroy the Interest or Body of the Dissenters in England, are Mistaken.

Not that I hereby suppose the Parliament or the Persons Originally concern'd in moving this Bill, did it in meer Kindness to the Dissenters, in order to Refine and Purge them from the Scandals, which some People had brought upon them, that 'twas an Action of Christian Charity to the Dissenters, to Prevent and Detect Frauds and Hypocrise in Religion, and to clear their Reputation.

I never yet faw, or read of a Division of Parties in any Nation, but the Hot Heads of both Parties were always for Enslaming the Reckoning; if the Hot Men of the Dissenters have done any Mischief, I am sorry for it; but let us examine a little what other Hot Men wou'd be now

a doing

S. S. Principal

No sooner was Queen Ann settled upon the Throne of England, and had declar'd that the Church of England shou'd be the Men of her Favour, as being the Church She had been Educated in, and ever constant to, but these Hot Men sly out upon their Brethren with all the Excesses of their surious Temper.

Nothing wou'd ferve them, but this Queen and Parliament must, Root and Branch, blast the Dissenters with their Breath, blow up their Interest in the Nation, and we shou'd be all one Church and one People, of a sudden; 'twas to be done with a Blow all at once, and so certainly,

that no possible doubt could be made of it.

But Her Majesty was pleased to let these People know from her own Mouth, that for as much as concerned Her, they were Mistaken; in that, upon the Address of the Dissenters to her, She gave them her Royal Word for Her Protection, and whenever she breaks it, we shall all be Mistaken.

W

all

Bo

re

re

if

Upon this the Pulpit, that Drum Ecclesiastick began the War, and Mr. Sachavrel, in his Sermon at Oxford, Dooms all the Dissenters to Destruction, without either Bell, Book, or Candle; not regarding common Decency, not respecting his good Manners to the Queen, nor his Deference to the Parliament; but tells them 'tis their Duty, if they will be true Members of the Church of England, to lift up a Standard against the Phanaticks, and the like; as much as to say, Madam, whatever your Majesty has promised, You must break Your Word; and Gentlemen of the House of Commons, we will have you do it.

Now all theseGentlemen have liv'd to see themselves Mistaken; and if they retain any Expectations of seeing it sulfill'd, they must exercise their faith upon it, as a thing in Futuro, and believe that some time or other Her Majesty will break her Word; but as yet there is no great Probability, for hitherto we have seen they are all mi-

staken.

But to revive their Expectations, comes a Bill into the House for preventing Occasional Conformity, this has been matter of great Triumph to some Gentlemen, who upon this Act revive their common Discourse, and are pleas'd to treat the Dissenters in this manner: Well, Gentlemen, now down you go, The Parliament are a beginning with you, and they don't use to do Business by balves, they have taken the Insulted Church into Consideration, they will reduce you, and this is the first Step, you shall soon see some more on't. We have got a Church Parliament now, and down ge go, this Bill will effectually Ruin your Interest, and bring all your Great Men off from you.

This brings us close to the Point; and 'tis no small matter for any one to show these Gentlemen how they

re mistaken.

First, 'Tis time for these Gentlemen to tell us what the Parliament will do when they either know it, or the House has declar'd their Intentions; and till they have, 'tis a Presumption some Houses would have taken notice of, for any People to pretend to lead them to their Business; and therefore when they tell us this is a Taste of the rest they

are preparing for us, I must say, either they are too well acquainted with the Mind of the House, or they are all Mistaken; and as to the Blow this Bill is to the Dissenters Interest in England.

As far as I may be allow'd to give my Judgment, and as the Nature of the Thing feems to speak it self; 'tis plain this Bill is no Damage at all to the Dissenters in England,

and we hope the House did not intend it as such.

*I cannot imagine that so great a Spirit of Enmity and Contempt can be entertain'd in the Breast of a Nation a gainst their Neighbours, their Brethren, People Born in the same Climate, submitting to the same Government, professing the same God, and in most Fundamental Points of Religion agreeing, People link'd together in the same common Interest, by intermarriages continually mixt in Relation, concern'd in the same Trade, making Wa with the same Enemies, and Allied with the same Friends, were it not that these People call'd Dissenters, are represented to them under some strange and untrue Character, or that under the Name of Dissenter, some ill Persons shrowded and disguis'd, who deserve to be thus Treated.

Wherefore, in order to set the Dissenters Right in the Eyes of their Brethren, and that they may have common Justice at least, if they can have nothing of Courtest that Peace may be where there is no Occasion for Was, and Quietness and good Manners preserved, 'twill be needful to set the Matter in a true Light, and examine who this Dissenter is, what the People Dissenters are, and what they have done, for which they are Treated after in infamous a Manner by Scurrilous Preachers, and Scandalous Pamphleteers, and other ignorant People, not a few.

All this Paragraph is a Chain of Arguments, why that Ought not to be this Spirit of Enmity.

If this Spirit of Enmity were not then, the Diffenters would be in no Danger.

^{*} Either is willing not to suppose it, but it does Not appear it was not there, and should not afterward be shown.

The Dissenter is an Englishman, that being something desirous of going to Heaven, having heard his Church of England Father, and School-master, and the Minister of the Parish, talk much of it, begins seriously to enquire about the Way thither, and to that Purpose consulting his Bible and his Conscience, he finds that in his Opinion there are some Things in the Establish'd Way of Worship, which do not seem to correspond with the Rule he has found out in the Scripture.

Now I shall not examine here whether the Man thus scrupulous be in the Right, or whether the Church be in the Right, it does not at all belong to the Case in Hand.

But the Man being fully convinc'd that he ought to Worship God in that Way, exclusive of all others, which is most agreeable to the Will of God reveal'd in the Scripture; and being on mature Consideration also, and after sincere Endeavouas to be otherwise satisfied, fully convinc'd that this Establish'd Way is not so near to that Rule as it ought to be, ventures the Displeasure of the Civil Magistrate in Dissenting, in pure Obedience to the Commands of his Conscience, and of that Rule which bids him obey God rather than Man; firmly believing that 'tis his Duty so to do; and that the Compass and Extent of Humane Laws do not reach to bind him in Matters of Conscience; at the same time living in Charity with all the rest of the World, whose Consciences do not require the same Restriction, and Peaceably submitting to the Laws and Government he lives under, as far as either his Right, as an Englishman, or his Duty, as a Christian, can require.

This is the English Protestant Dissenter which I have been speaking of, and concerning whom I have ventur'd to say, so many Men. So much Wiler than I are Mistaken

lay, so many Men, so much Wiser than I, are Mistaken.
If there are crept into his Company * State Dissenters,
Politick Dissenters, or any that give no Reason or other,

^{*} Such as Incline to Dissent, but Conform as a Quaification for Preferment, and never but then.

or less Reasons, for their Dissenting than these, they are not of them, and we wish they would go out from them.

Liee no Act of Parliament a making to the Prejudice of this Differer; and let Hot Men Preach, Print, and say what they please, it is impossible it shou'd ever enter into the Breast of an English Protestant Parliament, or an English Protestant Queen, either to Oppress or Suppress such a Differer.

'Tis for the Protection of this Honest, Well-meaning Dissenter, that in the late Reign the King and Parliament finding their Number Great, thought it was Meet for the Quiet of the Nation, and as an Acknowledgment of the Superiority of Conscience to all Humane Laws, to settle their Liberty in an Act of Parliament; the same undisputed Authority on which all our Civil, as well as Religious Rights are Established.

This is the Dissenter to which Her Majesty has promised her Protection, and this Act of Parliament is the Toleration to Tender Consciences, for which Her Majesty openly declar'd Her Self, even to the Hazar'd of

Her Royal Person.

These are the Dissenters who never gave Her Majesty any Reason to believe they did not Merit Her protection.

and I firmly believe never will.

From these the Church of England has nothing to sear, unless their Exemplary Lives, and Unquestion'd piety, shou'd prevail to weaken Her Numbers, and we heartily wish all the Strife were reduc'd to this, viz. who shou'd

Live best, and who shou'd preach best.

If there are among them Vicious Youths, or Grown Hypocrites; if there are crept in Errors, Herefies, and Enthusiasts; are not the same among the Church? If there are among these Dissenters, Quakers, Antinomians, Sweets Singers, Muggletonians, and the like; the Church has also her Socinians, Deists, Anti-Trinitarians, Scepticks. Antigilites, and the like; there can be no Advantage pleaded against Herefie, and Damnable Heterodox Opinions, from one side more than another.

we can of no; take your If we segard the Matters of State, the Diffenters, and the Charch of England, have small Advantage of the Argument one against another; and I may without Arrogance Challenge the Hot Church-men, who can Treat them with nothing but the Odious Name of Disturbers of the Peace, Enemies of Monarchy, and Authors of Confusion to bring the Loyalty of the Church of England, so much boafted of in the World, to the Test, with the Loyalty of the Diffenter; and it has lately been done to my Hand, it is easie to prove that the New Test of Diffenter has been equally Loyal to Princes, e- theChurchog qually True to the Government and Constituti- Loyalty, P. on of England, as the Church; and the Church has been equally Disloyal, and has as often Relifted and took Arms against the Lawful Establish'd Power and Prince, as the Diffenter; and let them enter into this Dispute when-

ever they pleafe. But what is all this to the present Case? What we do as Englishmen is one thing, and what we do as Christians,

and Diffenters, is another.

Tisalfo Foreign to our Purposeto examine or Reply to Mr. Stubbs, or the Multitude of Pamphleteers, who place themselves at the forelorn Hope of the Church, and begin the War in hopes of drawing on that whole Body to an Engagement; when they can make it out, that the Diffenter and the Church are as far afunder in Religion as God and Baal, I may possibly think they Merit what they so much Covet, viz. to be Reply'd to.

Whole Reams of Paper are spoil'd since that to prove that this Act of Parliament is needful, because 'tis fit the Church should be Establish'd; to which I Answer with a Question ask'd once with much less Reason in another

Case, What need all this Waste?

Gentlemen, Establish your Church with all the Precaution you can, Build a Fence of Impregnable Laws about it, on are welcome; we never did, nor we do not now, Diurb you; leave but us, your Poor Brethren, Liberty o serve God according to our Consciences; don't bind

us to do as you can do, whether we can or no; take your Places, and Pensions, and Profits, and deserve them of the Nation, if you can; we ask nothing but our Right, and what is now become so by Law; if you claim the Civil Power as your own, you consequently take us into your Protection; and let us see how Generous you'll be:

As to those among us who can Conform to your Church for a Place, for a Salary, you are also Welcome to take them among you, and let them be a part of your selves: all the Converts you can make by the Mammon of Unrighteousness are your own; all you can Buy off, or Bribe off, or Fright off, let 'em go; we readily Grant that whoever among us can, with Satisfaction to his Conscience Conform, ought to Conform; and we heartily Wish you would make some small Steps by way of Condescention to your Brethren, such as might open your Door for us all to Conform to you, and then you shou'd Dissent from Principles of Obstinacy and Ill-Nature, or from a meer Necessity of Conscience; you should then see whether the Diffenters in England were Schismaticks by Nature, and Hetrodox by Inclination; or whether their Objections are grounded upon Scripture, and their Diffenting from you an Act of an enlightned Conscience; you wou'd then try the Spirits whether they be of God.

But since you are of the Opinion that you are capable of no Amendment, that you cannot Reform farther, and therefore will not Condescend one Step, the 'twould bring over Half a Million of Souls to you, an Eminent Instance of the Charity of your Church, all we have to say in the Case is, let us have the Protection of the Government, and the Liberty the Laws allow us, and we are Con-

tent.

Upon this Score is that we fay the Act against Occasional Conformity does not concern us; * they who can Conform

^{*} As it may be an Act against Occasional Conformity only, this must be True, but the Author is to be understood, not to mean an Act clog'd with so much State Intreague, Trick and Pretended policy as some bave been.

form for one Reafon, may Conform without Two, and ought to Conform; and we are therefore content to be diftinguish'd who cannot Conform at all; and if we might offer fo boldly to you, who have any Interest in the House of Commons, we would humbly propose to have the Title of the Act alter'd, and to have it Entituled, An Act for the better Uniting the Protestant Dissenters, by preventing Occafional Conformity to the Church of England; and when that is done, let it pass with all our Hearts; and tho' we can easily see what the Design is, viz. That no Dissenter shall be employ'd in place of Trust or Profit in the Government, yet fince it must be so, We hope, Gentlemen, you will be content to take all the Miscarriages of the Government on you too; we shall acquiesce, let us alone in our Religion, let us Worship God as we believe he has directed us, and all the rest is your own.

But before we part, let us have leave to remind you, that although you are willing to quit all our Civil Right to the Honours, as well as the Advantages, of serving our Country, when we are chosen to it by a fair Majority, rather than not enjoy our Religion, and the Profession we make, with Peace and Liberty, yet it is no less an Oppression upon us, and the Hardships are such as can never

be defended by Reason or Equity.

We would be glad we had no Cause to think our selves sojur'd; and to such of the Church of England who can judge without Prejudice, we would Appeal whether

it is not very Hard?

First, That the Dissenter shall be excluded from all Places of Profit, Trust and Honout, and at the same time shall not be excused from those which are attended with

Charge, Trouble, and Loss of his Time?

Secondly, That a Diffenter shall be Pres'd as a Sailor to Fight at Sea, Listed as a Soldier to Fight on Shore, and let his Merit be never so much above his Fellows, shall never be capable of Preserment; no, not a Lieutenant at Sea, or so much as a Halbert in the Army.

your Clergy; our own Poor, and your Poor; pay equal Dd 2

Taxes, and equal Duties; and not be thought worthy to be Trusted to set a Drunkard in the Stocks.

We Wonder, Gentlemen, you will accept our Money on your Deficient Funds, our Stocks to help carry on your Wars, our Loans and Credits to your Victualling Office, and Navy Office.

If you would go on to distinguish us, get a Law made we shall Buy no Lands, that we may not be Freeholders;

and see if you could find Money to Buy us out.

Transplant us into Towns and Bodies, and let us Trade by our selves; let us Card, Spin, Knit, and Work, with and for one another, and see how you will maintain your own Poor without us.

Let us Fraight our Ships apart, keep our Money out of your Bank, accept none of our Bills, and separate your selves as absolutely from us in Civil Matters, as we do from you in Religious, and see how you can go on without us.

If you are not willing to do this, but we must live among you, Trade, Work, Receive and Pay together, why may we not do it in Peace, with Love and Unity, without daily Reproach? If we have any Knaves among us, take them, if we have any Hypocrites, any who can Conform, and do not, we are free to part with them; that the Remainder may be all such as agree with the Character here given; and when you have Garbl'd us to your Hearts desire, and ours, you need never fear your Church, as to her Politick Interest in the World; Pray then let us be quiet. *

What have we to do with your Distinctions of Whig and Tory? No farther that I know of than this, that when, distinct from our Religious Concerns, we come to talk of our Liberties, Properties, and English Priveledges, we are not for having them destroy'd by Absolute Authority, Di-

fpenling

^{*}This makes it plain the Defign of this Book is not to Encourage the Bill against Occasional Conformity, but proves this and all other Acts before it, which load the Conscience of Excludes the Dissenter needless as well as unjust.

spensing Power, and the like; and if this be to be Whigs

ve are Whigs.

1

;

As to Kings and Rulers, we are of the Opinion that when they degenerate into Tyrants, Oppress their People, Destroy the Laws, with all the etcætera's of Arbitrary Power, 'tis Lawful for the Injur'd People to Reduce them to Reason, and to seek Protection, and Powerful Help, from any Body, to Assist them to Recover their Undoubted Rights and Liberties; if this be to be Traitors, why then, Gentlemen of the Church of England, hold up your Hands; how say you? Are you Guilty, or not Guilty?

As to Oaths, with which Gentlemen, ye were the Men that loaded your Allegiance farther than you had any Occasion, we are of the Opinion, that they can bind the Subject no onger than the Soveraign continues the Protection of the Executive Power; and that the late King by his Deferting the Throne, Absolv'd all his Subjects from the Bond of their Allegiance; and on this Foot we made no Scruble to Swear to the Government, as it now stands on the soot of the late Revolution; and if you have Sworn with its, and yet do not believe so, you may get off of the Perury if you can.

And what need is there now of running down the Difenters with a full Cry, as if this Act a coming out was a Machine to blow them all up; we see no Harm in it at Il, other than the Hardships we mention'd before, most of which we suffer'd before, and are like only to have

hem the faster entail'd on our Posterity. *

All those Gentlemen therefore who think this Act will weaken the Dissenters, or wish it would, are manifestly Mistaken; it may distinguish them better, and I am perwaded will fortishe them in their Honest Profession; 'twill teach them, that if they will hold fast the Truth, they must learn to live like People under the Power of those who hate them, and despitefully use them.

Dd3

The

^{*} So that the Test Act had the same Injustice in it, and struck the same thing.

The Diffenters too are strangely Mistaken in their Ap-

prehensions of the Ill Consequences of this Act.

To fuch I wou'd fay, I cannot imagine what they have to fear from it, or why they shou'd be uneasie * with the Honour, they are also rid of the Encumbrance of being Mayors, Aldermen, Jurats, and Sheriffs of the Towns and Corporations; and let them but reflect what was the Gain that all the Dissenters in England have made by Places and Pensions from the Government fince the late Revolution. I am perswaded 'twill not all amount to the Sum that one Churchman will be found to have Cheated the Nation of

The Church are willing to engross all the Knavss to themselves, and let them do it, and welcome, tho' they get all the Money into the Bargain; if they would but come to fair Account with us now, and repay all the Dissenters Money the Nation has been cheated of by Church Knaves, I dare undertake the Dissenters shall repay all that can be charg'd on their Knaves out of the Ballance.

The Foundation of the Dissenters Safety is lodg'd by God's especial Providence, in the Queen's Veracity; while Her Majesty esteems her Word Sacred, as She has assur'd us She will, we have no occasion to be concern'd at all.

The Safety of the Diffenters confift in their own Honesty and Integrity; while they do nothing to offend a ther her Majesty, or the Laws, if it were possible to have a Parliament of Church Bigots, or of Pulpit Sachaverelli, there will be no Fear of their Liberty.

As to the present Act, I doubt not but they will live to fee Cause to be thankful for the making it, when the Miscarriages of all People in Publick Offices and Employments are so eminently fix'd upon a Party, and so openly

and fairly taken off from them.

They are Mistaken too in the Sense of the Present Parliament; and they may be affur'd, had not their Enemies seen that an English Protestant Parliament, as this is, is

^{*} So that the Test Act had the same Injustice in it, and Aruck at the same thing.

not to be prevail'd upon to Overthrow so Substantial a Part of the Nations Liberty as is settled in the Act of Toleration, they had not rested so long, but before now had

attempted it.

They have try'd it in the Pulpit, scatter'd it in Scandalous Pamphlets from the Press, affirmed that Toleration is Destructive of the Churches, as well as the Nation's Safety; they have endeavour'd, by Calumny and Reproach, to blacken the Dissenters with Crimes never committed; and which they wou'd never own before, are at last come to represent them as a formidable Party.

And yet all this cou'd never bring fo much as One Member of the House to be so blind to his Countries Interest, as

to make a Motion against the Act of Toleration.

Being thus disappointed, and willing to play at small Game rather than stand out, they fly to the Sanctuary of this Bill, and feign themselves gratify'd by it more than ever the Bill, or the House it felf, intended; for in all their Arguments for the Bill, 'tis suppos'd to be a Means to reduce, humble, and mortifie the Dissenters; Ridiculus Mus! Is this all? Why really, Gentlemen, had it been in our Power, you should have had all this without an Act of Parliament; this will Strengthen, not Reduce, us; 'twill please, not Mortifie or Humble us; and thus you find your selves all Mistaken. Mistaken in the House of Commons themselves, in thinking the Representatives of a Protestant Nation will Repeal the Act of Toleration, upon which the Tranquillity of their Native Country fo much depends, but above all Mistaken in their Expectation of the Queen, to whom their Behaviour is Preposterous and Unmannerly.

'Twas preposterous for People to expect, that because the Queen was a Friend to the Church, a constant Member, and always Espoused the Interest of the Church, that therefore when She came to the Crown, She must

come up to all their extravagant Heights.

When Her Majesty was Princess, and a Subject, she constantly adher'd to the Interest of the Church; but at the same time declar'd Her Opinion for tolerating the Dissenters in their Liberty of Protestant Worship, while they

Dd 4

behaved

behaved themselves quietly and obediently under the Go.

When her Majesty came to the Crown, She became the general Mother, the Guardian, the Resuge of all Her Subjects: She places the Church sirst in Her Favour, promises them Her special and particular care, as those who by Judgment and Inclination She stands engaged with, but as She sinds a great Number of Her People unhappily divided in Opinion, yet in all other Respects Her good Subjects, what can She do less than give them Her protection? This She has readily promis'd them, and on this they thankfully depend.

But here comes the Gentlemen of the Long Gown, and they tell Her in so many Words, She cannot, She must not keep Her Word with us; * They tell us She will halt between God and Baal, if She does not so Declare for the Church, as to her Best to Suppress and destroy all Separate Worships, and have all the Priests of Baal, the best Terms they can bestow on the Dissenting Ministers, hew'd

to Pieces before the Lord.

'Tis unmannerly that the Church of England-men shou'd expect the Queen to break Her word with some of Her Subjects to oblige others; and that whereas She has promis'd them Her Special Favour, they shou'd not be content with that, unless She will at the same time Oppress Two Millions of her Faithful People to oblige them.

Let them go on, but let them be affur'd the Dissenters shall enjoy their Liberty of Conscience, till they can prevail with Her Majesty to lay aside her Veracity, and forget her Royal Word, and refuse us Her Protection, which we are resolved never to give Her any Reason for.

As

th

ta

^{*} All this Discovers the meaning of this mistaken Trast, which was by bantering and exposing the Bill as useless, and short of the Design, prepare the Nation to see the Malitious Part of it, and consequently to reject the whole as they afterwards did.

As to the Bill against Occasional Conformity, it baulks their Design on the Dissenters, for 'tis for their Advantage; they always dislik'd the Practice; it has more than once been Protested against, and Exploded; and I dare undertake not one Dissenter offers to present a Petition to the House against its passing.

Tis plain, that Occasional Communion is contrary to the very Nature and Being of a Dissenter; who, if he can Conform, ought to Conform; and if he can for a Place of Preferment, ought to do it without that Preferment.

'Tis plain, that whatever, by the Connivance of Remiss Ministers, and with too much Regard to Parties, may have been slightly pass'd over, yet by the very Constitution and Foundation of a collected, separate Church or Congregation, no Man can go back to the Communion of the Church of England, and be received again upon any other Condition but as a Penitent; 'tis an Act Destructive of all possible Pretence for Dissenting, and never was, nor never can, be defended by any Dissenter, without over-throwing all the Reasons they cou'd ever give for Dissenting.

How then can this Bill be aim'd at the Dissenters? either they who think 'tis aim'd at them, are Mistaken; or they that point it at them, are Mistaken, for Suppressing an Error crept in among them, contrary to their Constitution, against their Judgment, declared by them to be a Grievance, can never be their Injury, nor ought to

be their Trouble.

Let them Name us the Dissenter that ever vindicated this Practice, one passionate Author excepted; let them tell us the Time when any Congregation received such conforming Nonconformists without Dissatisfaction and Discontents; let them tell us a Time whenever the thing was practised till the Reign of King James.

'Tis a Novelty, an Abuse crept in among us, and we are glad to have it Condemn'd by Authority; at the same Time not at all thinking our selves oblig'd to the Authors

for their good Will.

'Twill be objected, this is a Feint, to close with a thin

when you cannot help it.

No, Gentlemen, we don't tell you we like that pan of the Bill which Excludes us from the Native Honour and Preferments of our Country, which are our Due, or Birthright, equally with our Neighbours, and to which we should be call'd by the Suffrage of the People; and we cannot but think it a Hardship beyond the Power of Refon to justifie, and still believe it will never pass upon us:

* but since this Right must be clogg'd with so many laconveniences, that we must Mortgage our Consciences we enjoy them, no Man can have any Charity left for us, but must presently conclude we shall freely forego sur Tristes for our Consciences, or else that we may haven sciences at all.

Therefore 'tis no Feint; we are so content with the Suppressing the Grievance of this Scandalous Ambo-dexter Conformity, that we think the Hardships put upon us with it not worth naming; we doubt not the Parliament will one time or other see Cause to do us Justice, and to restore to us the Privileges of our Ancestors, and which we have done nothing to forfeit.

But all the Parliaments that ever were, or will be, connever Suppress any thing among us so Scandalous, to our Reputation, and to that Candour with which we desire to Guide our Actions, nor so contrary to, and Destructive of the very Nature of our separating from the Church of England, and the Constitution of all our Collected Congress.

tions.

We acknowledge, that if this was an allow'd Practice among us, we cou'd not pretend to the Character of a Different I have here given to be Just; but without Question it is a most Just Character of all those Different who are Consciencious and Honest; 'tis the Original, the Nature of a Dissenter; what is crept in more, is a Corruption, and we wish it Extinguished; and fince none has said any thing of this Nature, but what has been said before, and

^{*} How 'tis plain as before what the Author meant.

o Church of England-Man can think or speak worse of than the truly Religious Dissenters have done, we freedismiss all those who can thus Build with one Hand, and Pull down with another, to a Liberty of declaring for the suture who they are for.

Only pursuant to what has all along been acknowledg'd, o far as we handl'd this Argument, if they wou'd accept of the Friendly Advice of their Brethren, it shou'd be, that they wou'd for the future Conform to the Church

of England.

hing

OUR

W.

Wt

lea-

US:

to

inc

d

For 'tis plain, he that can Conform to the Church to qualifie himself for Preferment, for Employment, or any such Reason, can Conform; if not, he must be arrived to a Degree of Mastership over his Conscience, so as to subject it to his Interest, and act against light; and he that can do that, may do any thing, and 'cis no matter what Church he Communicates with; of such a Man I think I Trespass not upon Charity to say, he has all his Work of Religion to do over again, and he also may Conform till God shall give his Conscience Light enough to chuse by, and him Grace to be Obedient to the Convictions of his own Heart, and whether that be to Conform or Dissent, let him judge.

But if any Man who has profest himself a Religious Dissenter, shall, upon the passing this Act, declare himself Resolv'd to turn to the Dissenters, I think no Congregation of Dissenters, according to the Nature of Religious Communion, can receive him upon any other Terms than

as a Penitent.

If he bas not Sin'd, why shou'd he Repent? Says a Learned

Author in this very Cafe.

I answer, he either has Sinn'd in Conforming, or he Sin'd in Dissenting before, or he Sins in coming off; for if he did not Sin in Conforming, he ought to have continued there, and his coming off is a plain Schilm; but if he

^{*} This is repeating the Argument against Conforming meerly for Preferment, which the Author always Declares against.

he did Sin, he ought to acknowledge the Sin, which is what I mean by being receiv'd as a Penitent.

you write thus? You take upon you to write in the Name of the Dissenters, what Commission have you to write in the Plural? And how do we know that the Dissenters discount this Occasional Communion.

I answer, Publication is an Appeal to the World; if I have wrote what is not true, or affirm'd that in the Name of the Dissenters which is not their Opinion, I am liable to an easie Consutation; but as I have never yet had my Argument resuted, so tho' I have not received a Formal Commission, Truth is a General Commission, and any Man may write it.

And yet I am not without a general Concurrence of all the Dissenters I ever converst with: and he that can answer the Argument is welcome to make his Negative as Publick as this, and let the World judge who is in the Right.

A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty.

Or, Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty Compar'd.

Factions in this brangling Nation, the Champions of the Church of England, as they wou'd have themfelves call'd, have laid it down as the distinguishing Mark of their Hierarchy, that it is her Practice, and has been deriv'd from her very Constitution, as well as Doctrine, to fix in all her Members Principles of unshaken Loyalty to her Prince, entire and undisputed Obedience to all her Commands, and an Abhorrence of the very Thoughts of those Hellish Principles, That it can be lawful

ul on any Account what soever to resist the establish'd Power of

beir Kings & 'Twou'd be endless to quote the Reverend Dr. B-ge, the from the Text in the 13th, of the Romans v. 1,2. Re-At not the Powers, &c. for what soever Powers are, be orained of God; who foever therefore resisteth the Power, resistb the Ordinance of God; tells us, That if the King shou'd bis Royal Command execute the greatest Violence upon eiber our Person or Estate, our Duty was to submit by Prayers nd Tears first to God Almighty, to turn the Wrath of his scegerent from his Servant, and by humble Entreaty to eg bis Majesties Grace and Pardon; but to lift up the Hand gainst the Lord's Anointed, or resist the Evil of puishment he thought fit to inflict, this were a Crime unparonable either before God or Man, and a Crime, (Says the Reverend Dr.) which we blefs God the very Principles of our ever Loyal Mother, the Church of England, abbors and detests.

Let Incendiaries, Phanaticks, and Bloody Peace-breaking Vhigs (fays another Learned Divine) nourish the Vip'rous Principles of Treason and Rebellion, and let them meet their we Reward of their Factious Doings in the resentments of a Righteous, but Provok'd Nation: But God be praised, our Mother the Church of England has always brought up her Sons n an unspotted Loyalty and Obedience; none have been found ifting up their Hands against their Soveraign, or possessing the

lights of the Anointed of God. &c.

The very being and Life, the Original and Principles of the hurch of England, (says another 30th of Janury Sermon) s Loyalty and Fidelity to God, as the Immediate Supream, and to the King as the lively Image of Divine Authority, phose Power is immediately derived from, holds of, and is ac-

ountable to none but to God Himself.

To avoid Prolixity of Quotation, the Reader is defired accept of these as sufficient Proofs of what I lay down pon this Condition, nevertheless, that besides the general ppeal which I make to the Memory of most Men, I oblige

^{*} Dr. Hamond, Stillingsleer, Pellin, Beverage and a Cloud of Cannonical Witnesses.

lige my self upon Demand to produce Ten Thousand fair Quotations of Non-resistance of Princes, Passive-Obedence and Divine Authority of the Kingly Power, is own'd and declar'd to be an Essential Part of the Profession and Practice of the Church of England; and upon this Foot, which I hold to be sufficient, I think I cannot be censured if I take it for Granted.

Now as this too much divided Nation has always been compos'd of two contending Parties, those Parties have been distinguish'd, as in like Cases, by Names of Contempt; and tho' they have often chang'd them on either side, a Cavalier and Roundhead, Royalists and Rebels, Malignants and Phanaticks, Tories and Whigs, yet the Division has always been barely the Church and the Dissenter, and

there it continues to this Day.

As the Church of England Party have boasted of the own Loyalty, so they have branded the Dissenter win Rebellion and Faction, not only in their Nature, but in their very Principles; they have laid it down in their Writings and Sermons, * and Multitudes of their ignorant Hearers believe it, that the very Doctrine of the Dissenter made up of Principles in their own Nature tending to Consum and Rebellion; they wo'n't be content that we should own there may be Men among all Parties of bad Designs, and who wou'd on all Occasions embroil their Native Country, but it must be woven with the very Articles of Faith; and that 'tis the Religion of a Dissenter to disturb Government, kill Kings, and oppose Laws.

The Phanatical Enemies of our King and Church, fays the Learned Dr. P—n, drink in Rebellion as Water; 'tis the very Substance of their Schismatical Doctrine to overwhelm and destroy; and Commonwealths and Confusions are the Do-

Strines they preach.

He that lays out one Groat with a Dissenter (says the worthy Sir Roger in one of his Famous Observators) contributes so much as the Profits of that Groat amounts to in Trade,

^{*} In Sachaverell, Stubbs, Pellin, &c.

Trade, towards the Subversion of the Monarchy, and Ereting a Common-wealth, for the very Nature and Tendeny of their Profession is destructive of Kingly Power, and he Government of the Nation.

This has been the Opinon of the Church of England, oth of themselves on one Hand, and of the Dissenters on he other Hand. I shou'd be glad if I cou'd only say, It has

een, for we find 'tis still too much their Opinion.

Let no Man fay that the Author of these Sheets is either videning or keeping unheal'd the Breaches of this Nation; or if I can make it appear that there is really no Occasion of such unnatural Divisions; and that neither the extraorinary Opinion of themselves, nor the Contempt of their leighbours, as to the matter of Loyalty, is a becoming rinciple; no, nor a rational one neither: For that as to consulty, Passive-Obedience, Non-Resistance, &c. there is eally no great Difference between one side or other; I go is far towards healing the Breach as any Man; for there and be no better way to end the Strife on both Sides, han to prove that neither Side has any just Cause to contend.

To examine the Matter on both Sides, seem very useal at this time in order to reconcile Parties, and to settle

he Universal Character of the Nation.

The Government of England, is a limited Monarchy, omposed of Kings, Lords, and Commons; each have their everal, "their seperate, and their conjunctive Powers; thich acting in Concert, make the Harmony of the Contitution. I shall not invade the Province of those leared Gentlemen, who have undertaken to set forth the ranches of the Constitution in all their Powers, Limitations and Prerogatives: "Tis enough to say the Constitution is known, the Government is confined by Laws, the rown limited by Statutes, and the Peoples Rights control by the Concession of Ages.

To this Government, all Distinction of Names set apart,

I am

Sir Humph. Makworth's Defence of the Right of the Com-

I am of the Opinion all Parties have in their Turns been equally Loyal; I was going to say, equally Disloyal: And if I were to use the Language of late Times, it wou'd be a

very proper way of speaking of od nood

Affirming without demonstrating is an absurd way of arguing, and therefore it will be needful to come to Particulars, and to examine the several Acts and Deeds of both Parties when the Kingly Prerogative has shock'd or classed with the People.

In order to this 'tis needful to examine the Date of the

Difference, and so enter a little into History.

Our first Reformation from Popery was in the Days of King Edward the VI. I call it the first, because 'twas under him that the whole Nation and the Government embrac'd the Protestant Reform'd Religion; this Protestant Religion was established by that Zealous King, and by a Parliament back'd with the force of Laws, and confirm by all the Sanction of Authority it was capable of, and here it began to be call'd the Church of England.

Some enquiring Christians were for making farther Steps, and carrying on the Reformation to a higher Degree; and if that good reforming King had liv'd, his Zeal and Integrity was such, that there was no doubt be would have gone on to perfect every thing he had begun, as new Light or more Knowledge had increased; but the Return of Popery under Queen Mary put a Stop to the Work in general, and went very far towards overturning the whole Structure of the Reformation.

Queen Elizabeth restor'd it again; but as she was a Zerlous Protestant Queen, yet she was not for subjecting the Reformation to any Amendment. * Not that she believed it perfect; but she was a Politick Princess, surrounded

^{*} Queen Elizabeth rather went back to the Restoring several Popish Ceremonies with some prospect of bringing the Papist to Comply with them, but as the Pope forbid them the Complyance, the Protestants dislik'd them too, and that began and Encrease the Number of the Puritans.

with Enemies that were not to be dally'd with; and she was loth to suppose such Defects in the Reformation as were alleged'd, because 'twas to lessen the Reputation of ir,

and confequently her Interest in the World.

Those who insisted upon the further Reformation were then call'd Puritans, because they set up for a greater Purity of Worship; and they * separated themselves from the establish'd Church, because, as they said, their Consciences informed them they could serve God more agreeable to his Will.

I shall not meddle with the Arguments made use of on both Sides, either to defend or expose this Principle; 'tis sufficient to acquaint my Reader that this is the true Original of the Dissenters: We are now to examine a little further back. Before this Reformation there was no such thing as Church of England, it was then the Church of

Rome that was the establish'd National Church.

The Protestants under the Titles of Lollards, Wickliffians, Hussites, &c. what did they do? Did they, as our Modern People say every Body show'd, conform to what the Government commanded? No, the present Church of England Party were the Dissenters, the Schismaticks and Phanaticks, in the Days of King Henry VIII. were Persecuted for not coming to Church, many of them put to Death, and always treated with Scorn and Contempt, as Enemies to the Government, Broachers of new Opinions, and Contempers of Authority, as in the Case of that Famous Proto-Martyr of Christ's Church, John Lambert, and others.

In the next Ages these come to have the Power in their Hands, and forgetting that they had found it Righteous in the Sight of God to obey God rather than Man, they treat those whose Consciences oblige them to differ from them,

^{*} At last they did, but not till the time of King Charles be 1st, they Declin'd the Ceremonies always, but never broke If from the Church in Communion, till the time of King Charles the 1st.

with the same Contempt which themselves had receiv'd from the Roman Government.

Thus far they are upon even Terms, as to Obedience

to their Superiors.

The Dissenters have the first Occasion after this to show their Submission under extraordinary Pressures. Queen Elizabeth discountenanc'd them continually, and as good a Queen as she was, put some of them to Death. King James 1. hunted them quite out of the Kingdom, made Thousands of them sly into Holland and Germany, and at last to New-England.

During the long Reign of these Two Princes we find no charge of Treason or Rebellion upon them; they bore the Displeasure of their Princes with Patience and Passive Obedience, if I may be allowed that Ridiculous Phrase; being persecuted in one City, they fled to another; they bore illegal Prosecutions, and things contrary to their Right, as English Men, but never took up Arms against their Prince

Under the Reign of King Charles I. the Case alter'd, the King and Parliament fell out about Matters of Civil Right, and Invasion of the Liberty and Properties of the People, the Puritans or Dissenters, call them what we please, sell

in unanimoully with the Parliament.

And here 'tis worthy Remark, that the first Difference between the King and the English Parliament did not Respect Religion but Civil Property; nor were the Majority of the House Puritans, but true * Church Protestants, and English Men, who stood upon the Rights of the People, as English Men; and none were more Zealous in the first Disputes than the Lord Digby, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and such as were afterwards deep Sufferers for the King.

But the Parliament finding the Puritan Party stuck close to their Cause, they also came over them when Things came to a Rupture, and so the War begun on the Score of Right, Invasion of Liberty, Breach of the Laws, Private Leagues, and Male-Administration, a Game we have seen play'd

^{*} There were but 4 Diffenters in all that Parliament.

played over again by the very same Church of England that have exclaim'd so much against it, so damn'd it, and so damn'd themselves, by Oaths, Declarations, Tests, and God knows what against it.

Tis allow'd here the Puritan broke thro' his Loyalty, and his former Obedience, and fought his Way to the Liberty he demanded. Well, the War ended to his Advantage, he subdued his Soveraign, and brought him to the

Block, to the Aftonishment of the whole World.

I won't dispute here which or which Party did or did not do it; but to give the Enemy all just Advantage, I am willing to grant it in the largest Sense, that the Dissenters, Phanaticks, or Whigs, call them as you please, did embrue their Hands in the Blood of the Lord's Anointed, put to Death that Blessed Martyr, King Charles the I. whom the Learned Divine, in a Sermon on the 30th of January, before the Parliament, compares both in the manner of his Sufferings, and the People by whom, to our Saviour and the Jews, and boldly runs on in the Blasphemous Parallel, to shew that the Indignities and Sufferings of King Charles exceed those of Jesus Christ.

I think I have granted as largely as a fair Adversary can defire, for I have yielded, for Peace-sake, to several

Things which I cou'd fairly difprove.

Nor shall I return to a Repetition of the ill Usage the Dissenters have received from the contrary Party on this Account for above 30 Years; the constant Reproaches they and their Children after them have met with from those Gentlemen, who on all Occasions have (as I hinted before) particularly taken care to extol their own unshaken Fidelity to their Prince, till at last an Occasion presents to touch them in the same most sensible Part, their Right and Property; and, alas! Their Loyalty, what became of it? Truly the Faithful, Passively Obedient, Unshakenly Loyal, Church, return'd to the Original Nature of their Neighbours, and did the same thing exactly which the Whigs, the Factious Rebellious Whigs, had done before.

No, that's false, (says a Disciple of Dr. Sherlock's) we did

E e 2

not Kill our King, we did not dip our Hands in Royal Blood, nor burt the Lords Anointed.

No, that's true, but the Lords Anointed may thank himself for that; for my part I think the Difference only lyes here, the Whigs in 41, to 48, took up Arms against their King, and having Conquer'd him, and taken him Prisoner, and having taken him Prisoner, cut off his Head, because they had him: The Church of England took up Arms against their King in 88, and did not cut off his Head, because they had him not. King Charles lost his Life, because he did not run away; and his Son, King James, saved his Life, because he did run away.

'Tis such a Jest, such a Banter to say, We did take up Arms, but we did not kill him: Bless us, Kill our King, we wou'd not have burt a Hair of his Head! Why, every Bullet shot at the Battel of the Boyne was a killing the King; for if you did not, 'twas because you cou'd not hit him.

If a Highway-man Fires at you upon the Road, when he is taken, and brought upon his Trial, our Learned Recorder, before he pronounces Sentence of Death, Harangues him in this manner: And befides all this, Sir, you are plainly guilty of Murther; for you not only assaulted this Honest Man in order to take away his Money, but you endeavoured to Murther him; for you shot at him, in order to kill him; and the Intention of Murther is equally Criminaling the Eyes of God with the Act it self.

Now who did we shoot at, at the Boyne? 'Tis true King James generally stood out of the way: But who did we shoot at? What! Was our Orders to fight against both small and great, and not against the King of Israel? Had your Bullets Commission to shew their Loyalty, and not to touch the Lords Anointed? If he had charg'd in the first Squadrons of his Horse, had you not kill'd him if you cou'd?

I think this needs no further Proof.

Nay, if Arguments may be allow'd to have equal Weight on both sides, the Whigs have been the honester of the two, for they never profest any such blind, absolute and undisputed Obedience to Princes, as the others have done.

It has always been their Opinion, That Government was Originally contrived by the Consent, and for the mutual Benefit of the Parties Govern'd, that the People have an Original Native Right to their Property, the Liberty of their Persons and Possessions, unless fore-faulted to the Laws; that they cannot be divested of their Right but by their own Consent; and that all Invasion of this Right is destructive of the Constitution, and dissolves the Compact of Government and Obedience.

They have always declar'd, That they understand their Allegiance to their Governors to be, supposing they Govern them according to the Laws of the Land; and that if Princes break this Bond of Government, the Nature of it is in-

verted, and the Constitution ceases of course.

Buchanan in Scotland, Algernoon Sidney in England, have fet their Names, and the latter his Blood, to this Doctrine, and the Author of the True-born Englishman in this Case:

The Government's ungirt when Justice dies, and Constitutions are Non-Entities:
The Nation's all a Mob, there's no such thing as Lords or Commons, Parliament or King: A great promiscuous Crowd the Hydra lyes, Till Laws revive, and mutual Contrast ties: A Chaos free to chuse for their own Share, What Case of Government they please to wear.

If to a King they do the Reins commit,

All Men are bound in Conscience to submit;
But then that King must by his Oath assent
To Postulata's of the Government;
Which if he breaks, he cuts off the Entail,
and Power retreats to its Original.

True-Born Englishman, P. 74.

This has been the avow'd Doctrine of the Dissenters, and indeed is the true Sense of the Constitution it self; pursuant to this Doctrine, they thought they had a Right to oppose Violence with Force; believing that when E e 2 King

Kings break Coronation Oaths, the Solemn Compact with their People, and encroach upon their Civil Rights, contrary to the Laws of the Land, by which they are Swom to Rule, they cease to be the Lord's anointed any longer; the Sanction of their Office is vanish'd, and they become Tyrants and Enemies of Mankind, and may be treated accordingly.

Now tis no wonder to find People of these Principles vigorously withstanding their Governours, when they tread upon the tender fore Places of the Constitution, is nothing but what they all along pretended to, and de-

clar'd to be their Opinion.

But to find the Church of England-Men, whose Loyalty has been the Subject of a thousand Learned Author, and numberless Sermons, whose Character and Mark of Distinction has been chosen more for her steady Adherence and Fidelity to her Prince than to God Almighty, whose Obedience to her Monarch has been declar'd to be inviolate and immoveable, and who pretends to be samous through the whole World for her Faithfulness to Kings; for her, as soon as ever the King did but, as it were, feem to aim at crushing her Authority, as soon as he did but begin to call her Clergy to an Account, and clap her Golden Candlesticks for Disobedience, for her to winch and kick, sly to Foreign Princes for Protection, and rise in Arms against her Prince, O Relling! O Brady; O Sherlock! O Hominem! O Mores!

Where's the Worthy Dr. B—ge's Loyalty now, his Immoveable Loyalty? That after all his Absolute Submillion, is so far from being a Martyr to his own Doctrine, that

he could not lose a small Benefice for it?

Where is the famous Dr. S——k? Who having stood out long in his old Antiquated Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and confirm'd the Faith of his Suff ring Brethren by strong and wonderful Arguments, at last, at the powerful Instigation of a Wise, and a good Salary, has Sold all his Loyalty for a Mess of Pottage, solving his Honesty with the wretched Distinction of a Power De Fallo, and a Power De Jure; as if the Church of England's Credit

dit cou'd be fav'd by fuch an impotent Shift, or as if he cou'd make Amends to the Prebendary for his helping him to Sacrifice his Brethren, to Father his Conversion on reading honest Dr. Overal, whose Doctrine, 'tis well known, the Doctor knew before; but that he was loth Dr. South shou'd have the Honour of bringing him over to such Old Phanatick principles.

Behold the Loyalty of the Church of England; now let's examine their Conscience, as to taking Oaths; and if I do not bring them to be all Whigs, and Forty-One-Men, or

else prove them all Perjur'd, then I do nothing.

The Clergy, all the Magistrates and Officers of the Hou-shold, of the Civil or Military Government, were Members of the Church of England, otherwise they cou'd not be employ'd; the Sacramental Test has done the Dissenters this Kindness, that 'tis plain all the Managing Hands in the Kingdom were Disciples of the Church; and as an additional Circumstance, the Oath of Allegiance which they took, and which was (God be praised) of their own making, bound them to that same Absolute Blind Obedience which they profest, and confin'd it to the King, his Heirs and Successors.

If this Oath be considered literally, I am content to be silenc'd when one fair Argument can be brought to evade it; the Declaration follow'd it, wherein they detest and abbor that devilish Doctrine, that 'tis lawful on any Pretence what soever, (Mark the Emphasis) to take up Arms against the King; this (equal to an Oath) declar'd in the Presence of God, and the Particulars being material to our

Purpose are as follows:

A.B. do Declare and Believe that it is not Lawful upon any Pretence what soever to take up Arms against the King, and that I do abbor that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by bis Authority against those that are commissioned by him.

So help me God.

Notwithstanding this, you have taken up Arms against, deposed,

deposed, as far as you are able, put to Death your lawful

King, the very King you swore Allegiance to.

Now pray, Gentlemen, give Commission to some worthy Champion of your Church's Loyalty to bring you fairly off of your Oath and Declaration if you can; and till you do, be not angry with us for making one of these Conclusions from the Premises, and you shall chuse for your selves.

First, That this Doctrine of Absolute, Passive and Non-resistant Obedience, is an Absurdity in it self, contradictory to the Nature of Government and Allegiance, and politically introduced by State Engines into the Church of England, to abuse her, and betray her Members into

unforeseen Mischies and Inconveniences.

Or, Secondly, That the Members of the Church of England are all Apostates from the very Fundamental Doctrine of their Church, Perjur'd in the Sight of God and Man, Notorious Hypocrites, and Deceivers; who having swom Obedience without Reserve to their Prince, are become Traitors, Rebels, and Murtherers of the Lord's Anointed, and their Lawful Soveraign; and not having the Fear of God before their Eyes, have depos'd and traiterously dethron'd their Rightful King, God Almighty's Vicegerent, accountable to no Earthly Power, Supream under God, Absolute, and, from Divine Institution, Undoubted Sole Lord of them and their Country.

Or, Lastly, That they only are the true Church of England, who according to their avow'd Profession, have firmly adher'd to their King in all his Sufferings and Solitude, have never blacken'd their Consciences, nor gone back from their Obedience, forgotten their Oaths, nor fullied their Reputation with the horrid Crimes of Trea-

fon and Rebellion, as they think it to be.

Now, as a fair Disputant, I am willing the Respondent shall chuse which of these three Consequences he will stand by in Behalf of the Church of England's Loyalty; but if they wou'd take the Advice of a Friend to the Honest Part of them, I wou'd recommend the first Conclusions to be site eft for them, for the following Reasons.

1. Becaule

1. Because since Humane Infallibility is (and with good Reason) dislown'd by the Church of England, both for her elf and every Body else, it can be no Diminution to her Reputation, when she has found her felf mistaken, and mpos'd upon, to acknowledge her Error; a wife Man vill always own, rather than defend a Mistake.

2. Because 'tis my Opinion that their Way is hedg'd p against any other Pretence, Evasion, or Reservation, and therefore 'tis with me the only thing that Charity can ay for them, and must remain so, till I find something

else said that is more to the purpose.

But the Mischief of all is, that if this be honestly acknowledg'd (as is doubtless most true) that the Church of England was mistaken, and impos'd upon, to espouse a Sensleless Absurd Principle, contrary to the Nature of Government and Allegiance, &c. why then they come over

to this Consequence;

That Government and Allegiance are both Conditional, and Oaths of Subjects are always to be consider'd in a Constructive Sense, with Conditions of Protection, and the like; a thing which is without question the real Meaning of all Oaths of Allegiance; otherwise Subjects may be put under an Absolute Necessity of Perjury, or State Martyrdom, by often Swearing what may be impossible for

them to perform.

The Town of Aeth in Flanders has been about Six Times, and the Town of Rhineburg in Gueldre about Twelve Times, Taken and Retaken; and as often as new Mailers had Possession of the Place, so often the poor Inhabitants have fworn to their new Lords: What can the Meaning of such an Oath be, but that they will be faithful to them fo long as they keep Possession of the Place? Twou'd beridiculous to imagine the Imposers of the Oath requir'd any more.

If our Zealous Churchmen worded an Oath contrary to the very Nature of Swearing Allegiance, let them answer for it who first made it, then took it, then broke it: But the Nature of the thing can leave Room for no other Sug-

gestion that I know of.

Till then some further Argument is produc'd, it must rest here, that the Church of England was Mistaken, imposed upon, &c. that she finds when the Laws are Broken, the Right of the People Invaded, the Root of the Government Struck at, Church and State Undermin'd, and Despotick Tyranny at the Door, the Native Right of the People is Superior, and they may assume a Power to Right themselves.

And so we are brought back to Whiggism and Forty-One; and, Gentlemen, there is no Remedy for it, help it if ye can,

Where now is the Difference between Church Loyalty and Whiggish Loyalty, Round-head or Cavalier, Churchman or Dissenter, Whig or Tory? All are alike; they are pleas'd, when legally Govern'd; Quarrelsome and Unruly, if Opprest; and will Defend themselves, if Assault

ted, tho' it be by their Kings, or any Body elfe.

Why then is the Difference kept up? Methinks they might all be Friends together, for they are all alike; the Difference have been in their times as Loyal, and the Church of England in their time as Difloyal, one as another. Vice versa; the Differences have been as Difloyal, and the Churchmen as Loyal, as one another upon the same occasion; they have been both Sufferers, and have submitted to the Government; ay, and to the Oppressions and Persecutions of their Superiors and Soveraigns, and again upon the like Occasions, they have both of them been Rebels, if their own Language may be so far used; they have both of them, in their Turn, taken Arms against, and deposed their Rightful and Lawful Kings.

So that in my Opinion, with a Latitude to all that think otherwise, to think as they please, the Church of England, and their Neighbours the Dissenters, have nothing to quarrel with one another about, as to Loyalty; as to other Matters I have nothing to say to them, nor shall not min-

gle it with this Discourse.

Nor do I think I am writing a Satyr against the Church of England, nor is it at all intended to be so; and to stop all Pretences that way, I take the Freedom to say, here has been no Crime, the Church of England has been in the

the right of it; not in taking Arms, but the Error was in Espousing, Crying up, and Pretending to a Blind Absolute Obedience to Princes, be their Commands never so Absolute, Tyrannical or Illegal; this neither the Doctrine nor Practice of the Church of England, nor of any Church or People in the Christian World, ever pretended to; and therefore the fault lay in those People, who being themselves Members of the Church of England, suffered themselves to be deluded by State Ministers, to softer a Tenent upon the Church, which her Original Constitution never pretended to, and then call it the Doctrine of the Church of England.

The first begining of their pretended Doctrine was found in Manwaring's and Sibthorp's Libels, in the Days of King Charles I. cajoling the King; and then to please him, endeavouring to wheedle the People into a Belief of the Divine Right of Kingly Government; and affirming, that the King was not oblig'd by the Laws in the Admi-

nistration of the Government.

Upon this preposterous Foundation they built the Illegitimate Structure of Absolute Undisputed Obedience;
for if Kingly Power were once prov'd to be immediately
deriv'd from Divine Authority, Absolute Obedience won'd
be a Consequence no Body cou'd dispute, since the same
Obedience without Reserve wou'd be due to the Delegated Power, as to the Power Delegating.

And the this is a Point easily enough confuted, yet being willing to keep the present Dispute within as small a Compass as we can, I think our Argument has nothing at

all to do with it.

Whether Government be of Divine Original or not, feems not the Question here; for if it be not so, then, as before, the Church of England have been Mistaken, and Imposed upon; and if it be so, then the Church of England has trampled under Foot their own Doctrine, turn'd Rebels to God, and Apostates from the Faith they have profest, have Sacrilegiously and Traiterously taken up Arms against their Prince, assaulted the Lord's Anointed, resisted the Powers, which are the Ordinance of God, deposed their

their Lawful Soveraign, broken their Allegiance, and confequently are a Parcel of Perjur'd Rebels; every Jot as bad as the worst Roundhead Regicide, and Rebel of the Year Forty-One.

What more or less can be said I profess I know not, and am in great Expectation of something new in the Matter; for I cannot find in all the Writings I have met with, any

thing to contradict it.

The bringing Government and Obedience to the proper Circumstances of mutual Compact between King and People, seems to me to be the only Method to unravel this Skein of entangl'd Principles; the Nature of Government has made it the necessary Consequence of all Argument relating to Power; and I cou'd give Instances in all the Nations in the World, that some time or other, even the Right of Succession to Government, which must be as Sacred as the Power, has been Interrupted and Limited by the People, in case of Tyranny and Illegal Governing; and every Nation, and this among the rest, as oftentimes Depos'd their Princes for the Preservation of the State, when either Incapacity for Government, Tyrannical Usurpation, or other Male-Administration, has been the Case.

But this I think also needless here; every one that is vers'd in History can read the numerous Examples in the Roman, Grecian and Persian Histories, even Sacred Histories, were Kings were more particularly of Divine Right than any where, are full of them; the Histories of Spain, Portugal, France, Lombardy, the Empires of Germany and Museowy, even the Papal Chair, have suffer'd Convulsions and Revolutions, the Deposing and Displacing their Soveraigns, when the Peoples Good, which is and ever was, the Soul, the Center, the End, and the Cause of all Government, came to be in the Dispute.

But to return to the Principles of the Two Parties we are now discoursing of; the Whigs as before, have always afferted this to be their Notion of Government and Governours; and the Church of England, bowever some among

ther

them have topt an empty Notion upon them, have all along, and now at last once for all, own'd it by their Practice.

That Kings when they descend to Tyranny,
Dissolve the Bond, and leave the Subject free.

True-Born Eng. Man, P. 47.

The Act for the further Limitation of the Crown past in the last Parliament, and the Right of the People therein Declar'd and Recogniz'd, I wou'd ask my Opponent whose Act and Deed it was? Will they say it was a Whiggish Act, made by a Phanatical House of Commons? I dare say there was not Ten Dissenters in the House; let them descend with us into Particulars, let them draw out a Black List of Members, who in that Loyal Honest English Parliament gave their Hands to the last Settlement and Declaration of Right, and let us tell Noses, and put a Brand upon the Phanaticks among them.

Will they tell us it was a Phanatical Parliament that set the Crown upon the Queens Head? I hope they will own Her Majesty, and their Lordships the Bishops, are part of the Church of England; for if the Head and the principal

Members are not, we know not who are.

Will they tell us that Sir E. S. Sir B. S. Sir J. B. Mr. H—y, Sir C——r M——ve, and a Hundred more of that Side, were Whigs and Common-wealth-Men?

How comes it to pass in England, that no Papist can inherit? Divine Right ought to supercede all Precautions, and the Toung Prince of Savoy, not the House of Hannover ought to Reign with a Non Obstante to all Humane Limitation, if all was from Heaven? Where are our Right-Line-Men now! Why, truly the Reason is plain, the Church of England, People of England, a Church of England, Parliament of England, have thought sit to Declare, that for the Good of the People, to which all Right of Succession to Power must give way, because from them all Power it self does derive, and by the Voice of that people (in which Autho-

rity sufficient is Legally Grounded) it is Unanimously a greed, that we will not have a Papist to Reign over us.

All this is too plain to admit of a Dispute; and now to me it seems Preposterous why any Men should keep up the Distinction between Parties as to Loyalty, when indeed there is no manner of Difference in the Case.

I have talk'd several times of Bearing, Suffering, being Persecuted and Oppress'd, as the Dissenters in their time have been more than enough, and again in their Turn the Church of England have been Persecuted too; for as I noted before, they were once the Schismaticks, the Whigs, and the Dissenters. Now I think 'tis not very foreign to my Argument to examine whether of the Two behav'd themselves under their Sufferings with the greatest Submission, who show'd most Absolute Obedience to their Superiors, and who first, or oftenest, rebell'd against their Lawful Soveraign.

The Protestants under Henry VIII. were the first Diffenters; they were kept under, Persecuted, and put to Death as Rebels and Schismaticks. Now upon due Search it will be found, that under the Protection of Two Protestant Queens, Wives of King Henry VIII. they had more than once form'd such Interest at Court, and in the Kingdom, as to begin to be formidable to the Popish Powers then reigning; and the Fall of the Lord Cromwell was thought a necessary Policy in King Henry, to prevent the Plots of the Phanatical Church of England Hereticks; a long Account of which may be read in the Life of that Prince.

King Edward the VI, a Zealous and Pious Prince, made no Scruple for the Propagation of the Protestant Church of England, of which he was the Glorious Founder, to set a fide the Lawful and Undisputed Succession of his own Sisters, to Establish the Crown in the Lady Fane Grey, who he knew wou'd carry on the Work of Reformation.

There's an Instance of the Zeal for Succession in the Right Line in the First Protestant Head that ever the Church of England bad.

• After * After this, the Gospellers, that is, the Church of England Protestants of Suffolk, having some Sense of Injury done to the Princess Mary, and willing to have the Succession go on in the Right Line, provided they cou'd both preserve their Religion and Loyalty too; Capitulate with her, and promise to stand by her, provided she wou'd promise to preserve, and make no Alteration in their Establish'd Church of England.

Here the Church of England Men own'd the Liberty of their Religion to be Superior to their Loyalty to her; and that they had a Right to Submit, or not to Submit, as their Liberty was, or was not, Secure: and accordingly Condition'd with her before they wou'd Acknowledge her

to be their Queen.

And we see how Heaven punish'd them for venturing on the Word of a Prince, when their Religion and Liberty

was at Stake.

In this Queen's Time the Church having been again Suppress'd, and Popery Erected, Sir Thomas Wyat, an honest Church of England Protestant, with a very good Body of Men, took up Arms against their Lawful Princess for breaking her Word, in Defence of their Dear Religion Establish'd by Blessed King Edward, which were the very Words of the Manifesto they Publish'd: The Londoners, with 800 Men sent by the Queen against them, thought it no Treachery to Desert their Lawful Popish Queen, and go over to their Protestant Church of England Brethren.

We have nothing to do with the Justification of this Fact, 'tis sufficient that so it was, and that these were Protestants of the Church of England, in the first and purest part of their Principles, and let them justifie the Fact if

they please.

ST,

Queen Elizabeth Succeeds, and then the Church of England shone in its Meridian Glory; and then grew up some, who aiming, as I faid before, at a further Resormation, and the Church refusing to hearken to it, form'd a new

^{*} These Sacrificed their Religion to the Right of Succession, and paid very dear for the mistake.

Party of Dissenters, and these were call'd Puritans, and fince that Phanaticks.

Now I Challenge the Defender of this Cause to tell me one Disloyal Act, one Plot against the Government, one Disturbance of the Civil Peace, among these Dissenters, from the beginning of this Queen, which was their own beginning, to the Reign of King Charles I. which was a continued Term of 80 Years; and yet, during this time, they suffer'd all manner of Indignities, Reproaches, Fining Imprisonings, Banishment, Confiscations, and Corporal Punishments.

So that hitherto the Passive Obedience of the Dissenters hath far exceeded that of the Church of England. These had but Five Years Oppression under Queen Mary, and in that Five Years they once Capitulated with their Soveraign to make her Queen upon Conditions, and once took Arms against her after she was Queen; and by that I must always understand, that if they did not Depose and Destroy her, it was because they cou'd not; and if they had done it, no doubt they had cause sufficient to Justisse them before God and Man. The Puritans after this suffered all that their too cruel Brethren of the Church of England laid upon them during Three tedious Reigns, before they so much as made the least offer at doing themselves Justice; and for 80 Years together exercis'd that Passive Obedience which they never pretended to.

At last they took Arms, and when they did, they did it to purpose, carried all before them, subdued Monarchy,

cut off their King's Head, and all that.

After the Restoration Things began to return to their old Channel, and 30 Years more the Dissenters endu'd another Agyptian Servitude, were Persecuted, Plunder'd, Indisted, Imprison'd, Plagu'd with Impositions, Stigmatiz'd with a Thousand Reproaches, their Meeting-Houses Demolish'd, their Estates Confiscated, their Persons Excommunicated, and Anathematiz'd, Sworn into Plots they never heard of, and into Crimes they never Committed, Dragg'd to Goals, Gibbets and Scaffolds, and the like; all this while Passive-Obedience, if there were

where else; for here was no Rebellion, no Insurrection, nor breaking of the Peace by the Dissenters, notwithstand-

ing all those Oppositions.

and

SIO

ers,

IW

is a

ng, tal

ers

efe

6.

ok

After this comes King James the Second to the Crown, and he turn'd the Scale, and, together with Invation of Liberty, falls upon the Church, begins to Rifle her of her Trophies, for no Essentials had been touch'd, and how long did she bear it? Not 80 Years, not 30 Years, no not so many Months.

What did she do? Truly nothing but what she ought to have done: Defend her Liberty by Force, and Religion against Unjust Invasion and Tyranny: nothing but what all the Nations in the World have done, and wou'd do a-

gain if they cou'd.

The only Error we charge upon the Church of England, was setting up pretences of what they really wou'd not practice; crying up themselves for Fools, when we knew they were Wiser Men, calling themselves humble Slaves, but when the Trial came, proving Stubborn, Refractory; Liberty Mongers, even as bad as the worst Whig or Phanatick of them all.

For the future then, if a Humble Mediator might be permitted to give Advice to the Gentlemen of the Church of England, it should be in these short and friendly Terms.

Pray, Gentlemen, never be imposed upon, to pretend to more Loyalty, and more slavish Principles than you in-

tend to practice.

Never pretend to more Obedience than your Soveraign requires. Our Late King, who I am not asham'd to show as a Pattern for suture Ages, requir'd; and Her present Majesty, without Affront to Her Majesty's Authority it may be said, requires no farther Obedience from the People of England, than the Laws of England require.

the People; and to obey according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the People; and to obey according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the Soveraign. The Laws are the Test both of the Royal Authority, and of the Subjects Obedience;

Ff

and to pretend to more Obedience than the Law requires,

is abusing your Prince, and abusing your Selves.

Never be ashamed to own, with your Bretbren the Whigs, that you are willing to Submit to Authority, but that you expect to be govern'd according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

Let the Scotch Motto be set upon your Liberties; and according to your constant Practice, as well as theirs; let all Men know you design to make it Good, Nemo me Im-

pune Lacessit.

And as it really never was the Principle of the Church of England, nor were a Hundredth Part of the Members of the Church tainted with it; so for the Future is hoped you will not suffer such to Mingle themselves among you, or to Act in the Name of the Church of England, who pretend to a Blind Absolute Obedience to Princes.

And Lastly, Gentlemen, a little more Modesty to your Humble Servants, your Protestant Brethren the Disserters, or Whigs, I mean as to Matter of Loyalty: Forin Truth, Gentlemen, we do not see any Reason you have to Reproach us in that Matter, you being in every Particular as faulty that way as your Neighbours.

The Shortest way with the Dissenters:

or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church.

IR Roger L'Estrange tells us a story in his Collection of Fables, of the Cock and the Horses. The Cock was gotten to Roost in the Stable, among the Horses, and there being no Racks, or other Conveniencies for him, it seems, he was forc'd to Roost upon the Ground; the Horses jostling about for room, and putting the Cock in danger of his Life, he gives them this grave Advice; Pray Gentlefolks let us stand still, for fear we should tread upon one another.

There are some People in the World, who now they are Unpearch't, and reduc'd to an Equality with other People, and under strong and very Just Apprehensions of being surther Treated as they deserve, begin, with Afop's Cock, to Preach up Peace and Union, and the Christian Duties of Moderation, forgetting, that when they had the Power in their Hands, those Graces were strangers

in their Gates.

It is now near Fourteen Years that the Glory and Peace of the purest and most flourishing Church in the World has been Eclips'd, Buffetted, and Disturb'd, by a fort of Men, who God in his Providence has suffer'd to insult over her, and bring her down; these have been the Days of her Humiliation and Tribulation: She has born with an invincible Patience the Reproach of the Wicked, and God has at last heard her Prayers, and deliver'd her from the Oppression of the Stranger.

And now they find their Day is over, their Power gone, and the Throne of this Nation possest by a Royal, English, True, and ever Constant, Member of, and Friend to, the

Church of England. Now they find that they are in danger of the Church of England's just Resentments; now they cry out Peace, Union, Forbearance, and Charity, as if the Church had not too long harbour'd her Enemies under her Wing, and nourish'd the Viperous Brood, till they his and fly in the Face of the Mother that cherish'd them.

No, Gentlemen, the Time of Mercy is past, your Day of Grace is over; you shou'd have practis'd Peace, and Moderation, and Charity, if you expected any your selves.

We have heard none of this Lesson for Fourteen Years past: We have been huff'd and bully'd with your Ad of Toleration; you have told us that you are the Church establish d by Law, as well as others; have set up your Caming Synagogues at our Church-Doors, and the Church and Members have been loaded with Reproaches, with Oaths, Associations, Abjurations, and what not; where has been the Mercy, the Forbearance, the Charity, you have flewn to tender Consciences of the Church of England, that could not take Oaths as fast as you made 'em; that having swom Allegiance to their lawful and rightful King, cou'd not dispence with that Oath, their King being still alive, and fwear to your new Hodge-podge of a Dutch Government? These have been turn'd out of their Livings, and they and their Families left to starv'd; their Estates double Tax'd, to carry on a War they had no Hand in, and you got nothing by: What Account can you give of the Multitudes you have forc'd to comply, against their Consciences, with your new fophistical Politicks, who like new Converts in France, Sin because they can't Starve. the Tables are turn'd upon you, you must not be Perfecuted, 'tis not a Christian Spirit.

You have Butcher'd one King, Depos'd another King, and made a mock King of a Third; and yet you could have the Face to expect to be employ'd and trusted by the Fourth; any Body that did not know the Temper of your Party, would stand amaz'd at the Impudence as well as

Folly, to think of it.

Your Management of your Dutch Monarch, whom you reduc'd to a meer King of Cl—s, is enough to give any future

future Princes such an Idea of your Principles, as to warn them sufficiently from coming into your Clutches; and God be thank'd, the Queen is out of your Hands, knows

you, and will have a care of you.

There is no doubt but the supream Authority of a Nation has in it felf a Power, and a Right to that Power, to execute the Laws upon any part of that Nation it governs. The execution of the known Laws of the Land, and that with but a gentle Hand neither, was all that the Phanatical Party of this Land have ever call'd Persecution; this they have magnified to a Height, that the Sufferings of the Hugonots in France were not to be compar'd with -Now to execute the known Laws of a Nation upon those who transgress them, after voluntarily consenting to the making those Laws, can never be call'd Persecution, but Justice. But Justice is always Violence to the Party offending, for every Man is Innocent in his own Eyes. The first execution of the Laws against Dissenters in England, was in the Days of King James the First; and what did it amount to, truly, the worst they suffer'd, was at their own request, to let them go to New England, and erect a new Collony, and give them great Priviledges, Grants, and suitable Powers, keep them under Protection, and defend them against all Invaders, and receive no Taxes or Revenue from them. This was the cruelty of the Church of England, fatal Lenity! 'Twas the ruin of that excellent Prince, King Charles the First. Had King James ent all the Puritans in England away to the West-Indies, we had been a national, unmix'd, Church; the Church of England had been kept undivided and entire.

To requite the Lenity of the Father, they take up Arms gainst the Son; Conquer, Pursue, Take, Imprison, and t last put to Death, the Anointed of God, and Destroy he very Being and Nature of Government, setting up a ordid Impostor, who had neither Title to Govern, nor Inderstanding to Manage, but supplied that want with ower, bloody and desperate Councils and Craft, without

Conscience.

Had not King James the First withheld the full execution of the Laws; had he given them strict Justice, he had clear'd the Nation of them, and the Consequences had been plain; his Son had never been Murther'd by them, nor the Monarchy overwhelm'd; 'twas too much Mercy shewn them, was the ruin of his Posterity, and the ruin of the Nation's Peace. One would think the Diffenters should not have the Face to believe that we are to be wheedl'd and canted into Peace and Toleration, when they know that they have once requited us with a Civil War, and once with an intollerable and unrighteous Perfecution for

our former Civility.

Nay to encourage us to be easie with them, 'tis apparent that they never had the Upper-hand of the Church, but they treated Her with all the Severity, with all the Reproach and Contempt as was possible: What Peace, and what Mercy did they shew the Loyal Gentry of the Church of England in the Time of their Triumphant Commonwealth? How did they put all the Gentry of England to Ransom, whether they were actually in Arms for the King or not, making People compound for their Estates, and starve their Families? How did they treat the Clergy of the Church of England, sequester'd the Ministers, de vour'd the Patrimony of the Church, and divided the Spoil, by sharing the Church-Lands among their Soldiers, and turning her Clergy out to starve? just such Measure as they have meted, shou'd be measur'd them again.

Charity and Love is the known Doctrine of the Church of England, and 'tis plain She has put it in Practice towards the Diffenters, even beyond what they ought, till She has been wanting to Her Self, and in effect, unkind to her own Sons; particularly, in the too much Lenity of King James the first, mentioned before; had he so Root ed the Puritans from the Face of the Land, which he had an Opportunity early to have done, they had not had the Power to vex the Church, as fince they have done.

In the Days of King Charles the Second, how did the Church reward their Bloody Doings with Lenity and Mercy, except the barbarous Regiondes of the pretended Court of Juftice:

ad

ad

10

d

Justice: not a Soul suffer'd for all the Blood in an Unnatural War: King Charles came in all Mercy and Love, cherish'd them, preferr'd them, employ'd them, withheld the Rigour of the Law, and oftentimes, even against the Advice of his Parliament, gave them Liberty of Conscience; and how did they requite him with the villainous Contrivance to Depose and Murther him and his Successor at the Rye-Plot!

KING James, as if Mercy was the inherent Quality of the Family, began his Reign with unufual Favour to them, Nor could their joining with the Duke of Monmouth against him move him to do himself Justice upon them; but that mistaken Prince thought to win them by Gentleness and Love, Proclaim'd an Universal Liberty to them, and rather discountenanc'd the Church of England than them; how they requited him all the World knows.

THE late Reign is too fresh in the Memory of all the World to need a Comment; how under Pretence of joining with the Church in redressing some Grievances, they pusht Things to that Extremity, in Conjunction with some mistaken Gentlemen, as to Depose the late King, as if the Grievance of the Nation cou'd not have been redress'd but by the absolute Ruin of the Prince: Here's au Instance of their Temper, their Peace and Charity. To what height they carried themselves during the Reign of a King of their own; how they crope into all Places of Trust and Prosit; how they Insinuated into the Favour of the King, and were at first prefer'd to the highest Places in the Nation; how they engross'd the Ministry, and above all, how pitifully they Manag'd, is too plain to need any Remarks.

BUT particularly their Mercy and Charity, the Spirit of Union, they tell us so much of, has been remarkable in Scotland, if any Man wou'd see the Spirit of a Dissenter, let him look into Scotland: there they made entire Conquest of the Church, trampled down the Sacred Orders, and supprest the Episcopal Government, with an absolute, and, as they suppose, irretrievable Victory, tho' 'tis possible, they may find themselves Mistaken: Now

Ff4

Ewon'd

twou'd be a very proper Question to ask their Impudent sidvocate, the Observator, Pray how much Mercy and Favour did the Members of the Episcopal Church find in Scotland, from the Scotch Presbyterian Government; and I shall undertake for the Church of England, that the Dissenters shall still receive as much here, tho' they deserve but little.

In a small Treatise of the Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland, 'twill appear what Usage they met with, how they not only lost their Livings, but in several Places, were plunder'd and abus'd in their Persons; the Ministers that cou'd not Conform, turn'd out with numerous Families, and no Maintenance, and hardly Charity enough left to relieve them with a bit of Bread; and the Cruelties of the Parties are innumerable, and not to be at-

tempted in this short Piece.

And now to prevent the distant Cloud which they perceiv'd to hang over their Heads from England; with a true Presbyterian Policy, they put in for a Union of Nations, that England might unite their Church with the Kirk of Scotland, and their Presbyterian Members sit in our House of Commons, and their Assembly of Scotch canting Long-Cloaks in our Convocation, what might have been if our Phanatick, Whiggish States men continu'd, God only knows, but we hope we are out of fear of that now.

'Tis alledg'd by some of the Faction, and they began to Bully us with it; that if we won't Unite with them, they will not settle the Crown with us again, but when Her

Majesty Dies, will chuse a King for themselves.

If they won't, we must make them, and 'tis not the first time we have let them know that we are able. The Crowns of these Kingdoms have not so far disowned the Right of Succession, but they may retrieve it again, and if Scotland thinks to come off from a Successive to an Elective State of Government, England has not promised not to assist the Right Heir, and put them into Possession, without any regard to their ridiculous Settlements.

THESE are the Gentlemen, these their ways of treating the Church, both at home and abroad. Now let us examine the Reasons they pretend to give, why we should be favourable to them, why we should continue and tolerate them among us.

First, THEY are very Numerous, they say, They are a great Part of the Nation, and we cannot Suppress them.

To this may be answer'd, 1. THEY are not so Numerous as the Protestants in France, and yet the French King effectually clear'd the Nation of them at once, and

we don't find he Misses them at Home.

But I am not of the Opinion they are so Numerous as is pretended, their party is more Numerous than their Persons, and those mistaken People of the Church who are missed and deluded by their wheedling Artifices, to join with them, make their Party the greater; but those will open their Eyes, when the Government shall set heartily about the Work, and come off from them, as some Animals, which they say, always desert a House when 'tis likely to fall.

2dly. The more Numerous, the more Dangerous, and therefore the more Need to Suppress them; and God has suffer'd us to bear them as Goads in our Sides, for not

utterly extinguishing them long ago.

3dly. If we are to allow them, only because we cannot Suppress them, then it ought to be try'd whether we can or no; and I am of Opinion 'tis easie to be done, and cou'd prescribe Ways and Means, if it were proper, but I doubt not the Government will find effectual Methods for the rooting the Contagion from the Face of this Land.

ANOTHER Argument they use, which is this, That 'tis a Time of War, and we have need to Unite against the common Enemy.

Rate

WE answer, This common Enemy had been no Enemy, if they had not made him so; he was quiet, in peace, and no way disturb'd, or encroach'd upon us, and we know

th

t

no reason we had to quarrel with him.

But further, We make no question but we are able to deal with this common Enemy without their help; but why must we unite with them, because of the Enemy? Will they go over to the Enemy, if we do not prevent it by a Union with them?——We are very well contented they shou'd, and make no question we shall be ready to deal with them and the common Enemy too, and better without them than with them.

Besides, if we have a common Enemy, there is the more need to be secure against our private Enemies; if there is one common Enemy, we have the less need to have an

Enemy in our Bowels.

Twas a great Argument some People used against suppressing the Old Money, that 'twas a Time of War, and 'twas too great a Risque for the Nation to run, if we shou'd not master it, we shou'd be undone and yet the Sequel prov'd the Hazard was not so great, but it might be master'd, and the Success was answerable. The suppressing the Dissenters is not a harder Work, nor a Work of less Necessity to the Publick: we can never enjoy a settled uninterrupted Union and Tranquility in this Nation, till the Spirit of Whiggisme, Faction, and Schism is melted down like the Old-Money.

To talk of the Difficulty, is to Frighten our selves with Chimæra's and Notions of a Powerful Party, which are indeed a Party without Power; Difficulties often appear greater at a distance, than when they are search'd into with Judgment, and distinguish'd from the Vapours and

Shadows that attend them.

We are not to be frightned with it; this Age is wifer than that, by all our own Experience, and theirs too; King Charles the First had early supprest this Party, if he had took more deliberate measures. In short, it is not worth arguing, to talk of their Arms, their Monmouths, and Shaftsburys, and Argiles are gone, their Dutch.

Dutch-SanGuary is at an end, Heaven has made way for their Destruction, and if we do not close with the Divine occasion, we are to blame our selves, and may remember that we had once an opportunity to serve the Church of England, by extirpating her implacable Enemies, and having let flip the Minute that Heaven presented, may experimentally Complain, Post est Occasio Calva.

Here are some popular Objections in the way.

As First, THE Queen has promis'd them, to continue them in their Tolerated Liberty; and has told us She will be a Religious Observer of Her Word.

WHAT Her Majesty will do we cannot help, but what, as the Head of the Church, She ought to do, is another Case: Her Majesty has promised to Protect and Defend the Church of England, and if She cannot effectually do that without the Destruction of the Dissenters. She must of course dispense with one Promise to comply with another. But to answer this Cavil more effectually: Her Majefly did never promife to Maintain the Toleration, to the destruction of the Church; but it is upon Supposition that it may be compatible with the well being and fafety of the Church which She had declar'd She would take especial Care of; Now if these two Interests clash, 'tis plain Her Majesties Intentions are to Uphold, Protect, Defend, and Establish the Church, and this we conceive is impossible.

Perhaps it may be faid, THAT the Church is in no immediate danger from the Dissenters, and therefore 'tis time enough: But this is a weak Answer.

For first, IF a Danger be real, the Distance of it is no Argument against, but rather a Spur to quicken us to prevention, lest it be too late hereafter.

And 2dly, Here is the Opportunity, and the only one perhaps that ever the Church had to secure her self, and

destroy her Enemies.

The Representatives of the Nation have now an Opportunity, the Time is come which all good Men has wish'd for, that the Gentlemen of England may serve the Church of England; now they are protected and encouraged by a Church of England Queen.

What will you do for your Sifter in the Day that She shall be

Spoken for?

If ever you will establish the best Christian Church in the World.

If ever you will suppress the Spirit of Enthusiasm.

If ever you will free the Nation from the viperous Brood that have so long suck'd the Blood of their Mother.

If ever you will leave your Posterity free from Faction

and Rebellion, this is the time.

This is the time to pull up this Heretical Weed of Sedition, that has so long disturb'd the Peace of our Church, and poisoned the good Corn.

BUT, fays another Hot and Cold Objecter, this is renewing Fire and Faggot, reviving the Act De Heret. Comburendo: This will be Cruelty in its Nature, and Barbarous to all the World.

I answer, 'TIS Cruelty to kill a Snake or a Toad in cold Blood, but the Poyson of their Nature makes it a Charity to our Neighbours, to destroy those Creatures, not for any personal Injury received, but for prevention; not for the Evil they have done, but the Evil they may do.

Serpents, Toads, Vipers, &c. are noxious to the Body, and poison the sensative Life; these poyson the Soul, corrupt our Posterity, ensure our Children, destroy the Vitals of our Happiness, our future Felicity, and contaminate the whole Mass.

Shall any Law be given to such wild Creatures? Some Beasts are for Sport, and the Huntsmen give them advantages of Ground; out some are knock'd on the Head by all possible ways of Violence and Surprize.

I do not prescribe Fire and Faggot, but as Scipio said of Carthage, Delenda est Carthago, They are to be Rooted out of this Nation, if ever we will Live in Peace, serve God, or enjoy our own: As sor the Manner, I leave it to those Hands who have a Right to execute God's Justice

on the Nations and the Church's Enemies.

BUT if we must be frighted from this Justice under the specious Pretences, and odious Sense of Cruelty, nothing will be effected: 'Twill be more Barbarous to our own Children, and dear Posterity, when they shall reproach their Fathers, as we do ours, and tell us, You bad an Opportunity to Root out this Cursed Race from the World, under the Favour and Protession of a true English Queen; and out of your foolish Pity you spared them, because, for sooth, you would not be Cruel, and now our Church is Supprest and Persecuted, our Religion tramps'd under Foot, our Estates Plunder'd, our Persons Imprisoned, and dragg'd to fails, Gibbets and Scaffolds; your sparing this Amelekite Race is our Destruction, your Mercy to them proves Cruelty to your poor Posterity.

HOW just will such Reslections be, when our Posterity shall fall under the merciles Clutches of this uncharitable Generation, when our Church shall be swallow'd up in Schism, Faction, Enthusiasm, and Consusion; when our Government shall be devolv'd upon Foreigners, and our

Monarchy dwindled into a Republick.

'Twou'd be more rational for us, if we must spare this Generation, to summon our own to a general Massacre, and as we have brought them into the World Free, send them out so, and not betray them to Destruction by

our supine Negligence, and then cry it is Mercy.

Moses was a Merciful Meek Man, and yet with what
Fury did he run thro' the Camp, and cut the Throats of
Three and thirty thousand of his dear Israelites, that were
fallen into Idolatry; what was the reason? Twas Mercy
to the rest, to make these Examples, to prevent the De-

struction of the whole Army.

gainse his Church, and all ober the first is of then wolfers, let them subject as such capital Courses deferves

...

How many Millions of future Souls we fave from Infection and Delusion, if the present Race of poison'd Spirits

were purg'd from the Face of the Land. its M

'TIS vain to trifle in this matter, the light foolish handling of them by Mulc's, Fines, &c. 'tis their Glory and their Advantage, if the Gallows instead of the Counter, and the Gallies instead of the Fines, were the Reward of going to a Conventicle, to preach or hear, there wou'd not be so many Sufferers, the Spirit of Martyrdom is over; they that will go to Church to be chosen Sheriss and Mayors, would go to forty Churches rather than be Hang'd.

If one severe Law were made, and punctually executed, that whoever was found at a Conventicle, shou'd be Banish'd the Nation, and the Preacher be Hang'd, we should soon see an end of the Tale, they wou'd all come to Church,

and one Age wou'd make us all One again.

TO talk of 5s. a Month for not coming to the Sacrament, and is per Week for not coming to Church, this is fuch a way of converting People as never was known, this is felling them a Liberty to transgress for so much Money: If it be not a Crime, why don't we give them full licence? And if it be, no Price ought to compound for the committing it, for that is felling a Liberty to People to fin against God and the Government.

If it be a Crime of the highest Consequence both against the Peace and Welfare of the Nation, the Glory of God, the Good of the Church, and the Happiness of the Soul, let us rank it among capital Offences, and let it re-

ceive a Punishment in proportion to it.

We Hang Men for Trifles, and Banish them for things not worth naming, but an Offence against God and the Church, against the Welfare of the World, and the Dignity of Religion, shall be bought off for 5 s. this is such a shame to a Christian Government, that 'tis with regret learnsmit it to Posterity.

IF Men sin against God, affront his Ordinances, rebelations gainst his Church, and disobey the Precepts of their Superiors, let them suffer as such capital Crimes deserve, so will

Religion

Religion flourish, and this divided Nation be once again united. godie and a vosnisted ried and the state of
And yet the Title of Barbarous and Cruel will foon be taken off from this Law too. I am not supposing that all the Dissenters in England shou'd be Hang'd or Banish'd, but as in cases of Rebellions and Insurrections, if a few of the Ring-leaders suffer, the Multitude are dissimilt, so a few obstinate People being made Examples, there's no doubt but the Severity of the Law would find a stop in the Compliance of the Multitude.

To make the reasonableness of this matter out of question, and more unanswerably plain, let us examine for what it is that this Nation is divided into Parties and Factions, and let us see how they can justifie a Separation, or we of the Church of England can justifie our bearing the

Infults and Inconveniencies of the Party.

ONE of their leading Pastors, and a Man of as much Learning as most among them, in this Answer to a Pamphlet, entituled, An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity, hath these Words, p. 27. Do the Religion of the Church and the Meeting-houses make two Religions? Wherein do they differ? The Substance of the same Religion is common to them both; and the Modes and Accidents are the things in which only they differ. p. 28. Thirty nine Articles are given us for the summary of our Religion, Thirty six contain the Substance of it, wherein we agree; Three the additional Appendices, about which we have some differences.

Now, if as by their own acknowledgment, the Church of England is a true Church, and the Difference between them is only in a few Modes and Accidents, why should we expect that they will suffer Gallies, corporal Punishment and Banishment for these Trisles? There is no question but they will be wifer, even their own Principles won't bear them out in it, they will certainly comply with the Laws, and with Reason, and tho' at the first, Severity may seem hard, the next Age will feel nothing of it, the Contagion will be rooted out, the Disease being cur'd, there will be no need of the Operation, but if they should

venture

venture to transgress, and fall into the Pit, all the World must condemn their Obstinacy, as being without ground from their own Principles.

Thus the Pretence of Cruelty will be taken off, and the Party actually supprest, and the Disquiets they have so oft.

en brought upon the Nation, prevented.

THEIR Numbers, and their Wealth makes them Haughty, and that 'tis so far from being an Argument to perswade us to forbear them, that 'tis a Warning to us, without any more delay, to reconcile them to the Unity

of the Church, or remove them from us.

AT present, Heaven be prais'd, they are not so Formidable as they have been, and 'tis our own fault if ever we suffer them to be so; Providence, and the Church of England, seems to join in this particular, that now the Destroyers of the Nation's Peace may be overturn'd, and to this end the present Opportunity seems to be put into our Hands.

To this end Her present Majesty seems reserved to enjoy the Crown, that the Ecclesiastick as well as Civil Rights of the Nation may be restored by her Hand.

To this end the Face of Affairs have receiv'd such a Turn in the process of a few Months, as never has been before; the leading Men of the Nation, the universal cry of the People, the unanimous Request of the Clergy, agree in this, that the Deliverance of our Church is at Hand.

For this end has Providence given such a Parliament, such a Convocation, such a Gentry, and such a Queen as we

never had before.

AND what may be the Consequences of a Neglect of such Opportunities? The Succession of the Crown has but a dark Prospect, another Dutch Turn may make the Hopes of it ridiculous, and the Practice impossible: Be the House of our suture Princes never so well inclin'd, they will be Foreigners; and many Years will be spent in suiting the Genius of Strangers to this Crown, and the Interests of the Nation; and how many Ages it may be before the English Throne be fill'd with so much Zeal and Candow,

so much Tenderness and hearty Affection to the Church, as we see it now cover'd with, who can imagine?

'Tis high Time then for the Friends of the Church of England, to think of Building up, and Establishing her, in such a manner, that She may be no more Invaded by Foreigners, nor divided by Factions, Schisms, and Error.

If this cou'd be done by gentle and easie Methods, I shou'd be glad, but the Wound is corroded, the Vitals begin to mortifie, and nothing but Amputation of Members can compleat the Cure; all the ways of Tenderness and Compassion, all perswasive Arguments have been made use of in vain.

The Humour of the Dissenters has so encreas'd among the People, that they hold the Church in Desiance, and the House of God is an Abomination among them: Nay, they have brought up their Posterity in such prepossest Aversions to our Holy Religion, that the ignorant Mob think we are all Idolaters, and Worshippers of Baal; and account it a Sin to come within the Walls of our Churches.

The primitive Christians were not more shie of a Heathen-Temple, or of Meat offer'd to Idols, nor the Jews of Swine's Flesh, than some of our Dissenters are of the Church, and the Divine Service solemnized therein.

This obstinacy must be rooted out with the Profession of it, while the Generation are left at liberty daily to affront God Almighty, and dishonour his Holy Worship, we are wanting in our Duty to God, and our Mother the Church of England.

How can we answer it to God, to the Church, and to our Posterity, to leave them entangled with Fanaticism, Error, and Obstinacy, in the Bowels of Nation; to leave them an Enemy in their Streets, that in time may involve them in the same Crimes, and endanger the utter Extirpation of the Religion in the Nation.

What's the Difference betwixt this, and being subjected to the Power of the Church of Rome, from whence

Gg

we have reform'd? If one be an extream on one Hand, and one on another, 'tis equally Destructive to the Truth to have Errors settled among us, let them be of what Na.

ture they will.

Both are Enemies of our Church, and of our Peace, and why shou'd it not be as Criminal to admit an Enthusiast as a Jesuit? Why shou'd the Papist with his Seven Sacraments be worse than the Quaker with no Sacraments at all? Why should Religious-houses be more intollerable than Meeting-houses——Alas! the Church of England! What with Popery on one Hand, and Schismaticks on the other; how has she been Crucified between two Thieves.

Now let us Crucifie the Thieves. Let her Foundations be Establish'd upon the Destruction of Her Enemies: The Doors of Mercy being always open to the returning Part of the deluded People: Let the Obstinate be rul'd with

the Rod of Iron.

Let all true Sons of so Holy and Oppressed a Mother, exasperated by her Afflictions, harden their Hearts against those who have Oppress'd Her.

And may God Almighty put it into the Hearts of all the Friends of Truth, to lift up a Standard against Pride and Antichrist, that the Posterity of the Sons of Error may be rooted out from the Face of this Land for ever.

EXPLANATION

OF

A late Pamphlet, Entituled, The Shortest Way with the Diffenters.

THE Author professes he thought, when he wrote the Book, he shou'd never need to come to an Explication, and wonders to find there should be any reason for it.

If any Man take the Pains seriously to reflect upon the Contents, the Nature of the Thing, and the Manner of the Stile, it seems Impossible to imagine it should pass for any thing but a Banter upon the High-slying Church-Men.

That it is free from any Seditious design, either of stirring up the Dissenters to any Evil Practice by way of prevention; much less of animating others to their Destruction, will be plain, I think, to any Man that understands the present Constitution of England, and the Nature of our Government.

But since Ignorance, or Prejudice has led most Men to a hasty Censure of the Book, and some People are like to come under the Displeasure of the Government for it, in Justice to those who are in danger to suffer for it; in submission to the Parliament and Council, who may be offended at it; and in Courtese to all mistaken Péople, who it seems have not Penetrated into the real design: The Author presents the World with the Native Genuine Meaning and Design of the Paper, which G g 2

he hopes may allay the Anger of the Government, or at least satisfie the minds of such as imagine a design to Enflame and Divide us.

The Paper, without the least retrospect to, or concern in the Publick Bills in Parliament, now depending; or any other Proceedings of either House, or of the Government relating to the Dissenters, whose Occasional Conformity the Author has constantly opposed, has its immediate Original from the Virulent Spirits, of some Men who have thought fit to express themselves to the same Effect, in their Printed Books, tho' not in Words so plain, and at length, and by an Irony not Unusual, stands as a fair answer to several Books Published in this Liberty of the Press; which, if they had been handed to the Government with the same temper as this has, wou'd no question have found the same Treatment.

The Sermon Preach'd at Oxford, the New Affociation, the Poetical Observator, with numberless others; have said the same thing, in terms very little darker, and this Book stands fair to let those Gentlemen know, that what they design can no farther take with Mankind, than as their real meaning stands disguis'd by Artifice of words; but that when the Persecution and Destruction of the Dissenten, the very thing they drive at, is put into plain English, the whole Nation will start at the Notion, and Condemn the Author to be Hang'd for his Impudence.

The Author humbly hopes he shall find no harder Treatment for plain English, without Design, than those Gentlemen for their Plain Design, in Duller and Darker

English.

Any Gentlemen who have Patience to peruse the Author of the New Association, will find Gallows, Galleys, Persecution and Destruction of the Dissenters are directly pointed at, as fairly intended, and design'd, as in this shortest way, as, had it been real, can be pretended; there is as much Virulence against a Union with Scotland, against King WILLIAMS

WILLIAM's Government, and against the Line of Hannover, there is as much Noise and Pains taken in Mr. S—Ils Sermon to blacken the Dissenters, and thereby to qualifie them for the Abhorrence of all Mankind, as is possible.

The meaning then of this Paper is in short to tell these

Gentlemen,

of the Crimes of the Dissenters, to prepare the World to believe they are not fit to Live in a Humane Society, that they are Enemies to the Government, and Law, to the QUEEN, and the Publick Peace, and the like; the shortest way, and the soonest, wou'd be to tell us plainly that they wou'd have them all hang'd, Banish'd and De-

ftroy'd.

2. But withal to acquaint those Gentlemen who fancy the time is come to bring it to pass, that they are mistaken, for that when the thing they mean, is put into plain English, the whole Nation replies with the Assyrian Captain, Is thy Servant a Dog, that he shou'd do these things? The Gentlemen are mistaken in every particular, it will not go down, the QUEEN, the Council, the Parliament are all Offended, to have it so much as suggested, that such a thing was possible to come into their Minds; and not a Man, but a Learned Mercer, not far from the Corner of Fanchurch-street, has been found to approve it.

Thus a poor Author has ventur'd to have all Mankind call him Villain, and Traytor to his Country and Friends, for making other People's thoughts speak in his

Words.

From this Declaration of his real design, he humbly hopes the Lords of Her Majesties Council, or the House of Parliament, will be no longer offended, and that the poor People in trouble on this Account shall be Pardoned or Excused.

He also desires that all men who have taken Offence at the Book, mistaking the Authors design; will suffer them-

Gg 3

felves

felves to think again, and withhold their Cenfure, till they find themselves qualified to make a Venture like this for

the good of their Native Country. In the

As to Expressions which seem to restect upon Persons or Nations; he declares them to be only the Cant of the Nonjuring Party Expos'd, and thinks it very necessary to let the World know that 'tis their usual Language with which they Treat the Late KING, the Scotch Union, and the Line of Hannover.

'Tis hard, after all, that this should not be perceived by all the Town, that not one man can see it, either

Churchman or Dissenter.

That not the Dissenters themselves can see that this was the only way to satisfy them, that whatever the Parliament might think sit to do to restrain Occasional Communion, Persecution and Destruction was never in their intention, and that therefore they have nothing to do but to

be quiet and easie.

For any thing in the manner of the Paper which may offend either the Government, or private Persons, the Author begs their Pardon, and protesting the Honesty of his intention, resolves, if the People now in Trouble may be excused, to throw himself upon the Favour of the Government, rather than others shall be ruin'd for his mistakes.

Election & only gride, film , 2

they

fons

fthe

rith and

ed ier

THE

SHORTEST WAY

TO

Peace and Union, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

IT was always my Opinion, that whoever should 'go about to widen the Difference, or encrease the 'Misunderstandings between the Church of England and the Dissenters, were the real Enemies of both.

'Tis an Unhappiness that the sober, thinking Men on both sides are sensible of, that there should be any Difference at all; and I am of the Opinion that would either side encline a little, the Breach might be easily

'lessen'd, tho' perhaps not quite clos'd.

And if ever a temper of Charity and Love should chance to prevail in this contentious unhappy Nation, I am fully perswaded, even a Capacity as weak as mine, might be ablesto propose Methods which might bring the Two Parties much nearer together.

But while there is a breach of Charity, there can never be a Union of Principles; and till the railing Spirit on either side is suppress'd, the Breach widens rather than heals, and all tends to the consusion of the General Protestant Interest both at Home and Abroad.

Gg 4

That

That there are Persons on both sides, who either from Passion or Prejudice, Interest, or other worse Reasons, continue to encrease the unhappy strife, by rendring both sides suspected, and odious to one another, is a Truth too plain to be question'd; and 'twould be an Impertinence I cannot dispence with, to spend time in the proof of it.

Nor is it so much my design to examin who they are, which in my opinion would be marking Men out for the General hatred, and exposing them to be ston'd in the Streets. If I could prevail with both sides to cease and discourage the practice, the Persons would see their Errors, and might be forgiven by God and

the Nation.

You are very much in the right of it, says a Gentleman, that in defence of some angry People, resents a late well meant Book of mine, call'd, The Shortest Way, You are in the right of it to conceal Names, lest your own

You are in the right of it to conceal Names, lest your own ' should stand first in the Catalogue. Truly I cannot deny but I am very forry I Publish'd that Book, not from any mistake of mine in iter any thing I have reason to Repent either in the Design or the Expression, but because the ill Management ofit, has prevented my further Explaining of it; and because I unwarily let some things slip, at which the Government feems to be Offended; and tho' to them who ' judge by outfides, my Design is Condemn'd, yet I canonot but protest to the World, that neither in that Book, nor in any thing I ever wrote, did I ever defign to raise a Feud between the Dissenters and the Church of England; I never said, or believ'd, the Church of Eng-'land, as a Body, design'd to ruine and destroy the Disfenters: But that there are some Men in the Church, "who, indeed, are not of her, and who have by their Writings and Preachings testified the rancour of their Spirits, and the earnest desires of their Souls to have the Dissenters ruin'd, is most true, and at those I levell'd; however, an ill Marks-man I have been been thought, to aim at one thing and shoot another.

'Nor am I making an Apology here to move the Mercy of the Government, I have already resolv'd in that Case, that as a good Subject does not willingly offend, so having by Inadvertancy fallen into the Publick Displeasure, I submit to the Clemency of my Superior, with this Resolution, It is the Queen, let her Majesty do

with me, what seems good in Her Eyes.

'Nor shall the Apprehension of the Severity of Her Majesty's Resentment, cause me to cease the endeavour, of bringing, as far as writing can do it, a fair Reconciliation of Parties in View: When a Fray is begun, the Standers by may part them, and bring them together; but if they will not shake Hands, 'tis their own Fault.

'And that I may inform the World, that as far as I have been able, this has always been both my Principle and Practife: I Challenge the worst Enemies I have to find out, among any thing ever publish'd by me, the least Shaddow of a Temper differing from this healing Prin-

ciple.

To this end, the following Sheets have been compos'd some Years ago, and have now very small Aditions, as to Circumstances, and were design'd as an Introduction to a healing Conjunction of Parties, which I had form'd in my Thoughts; for I doubt not, but I could easily lay down such a Scheme of a General Union of Protestants in this Nation, as to politick Interest, as well as Religion, as no Man on either side could oppose, without being a Manifest Incendiary, a Disturber of the Publick Peace, and an Enemy to its establish'd Government: But while I am in the Hands of the Law, I think 'tis time to have done Writing; and if the Spirit of Peace would but posses the Minds of Men, there are better Pens and better Heads than mine to make the Proposal.

It is not for me to tell our Governours they take wrong Measures with the Dissenters; and the Dissen-

ters would be angry if I should tell them there is II Blood among them; and some Church Men would think themselves injur'd, if I should say they improdently Encrease it: But I heartily wish I could say

all these Three Things were false and idle Chimeral

of my own.

And yet I would be content to be condemn'd to Newgate all the Days of my Life, if I did not lay down fuch undeniable Testimonies of the Truth of those Heads as should convince all the unbyas'd Judgment in the Nation; and after that, subjoin such a Method of Peace, Union, Love and Charity among all the Protestants of this Nation, as no Man but he whose Reason was a Slave to Interest, Passion, or some ill De

fign, could find in his Heart to dislike.

Heart was touch'd from on high, with a Zeal for the good of England, for the Prosperity of the Protestant Interest, and for the Glory of the present Government, might add to, amend, and I hope at last finish so describe a Work; but I am sully perswaded, I could State Preliminaries of such a League of Amity, such a Union of Affection, as should make us One People, with One Heart, and One Interest, equally Zealous, Loyal, and Affectionate to the Person of the Queen, and the Establishment of the Government; and that Government remain just the same, untouch'd, unalter'd Constitution that it is now.

But as I am not worthy to be the Author of so great a Work, so neither shall I venture the farther Oppression of my private Circumstances, by endeavouring to reconcile Parties that resolve not to be reconciled, unites I can receive the Protection due to a Messenger of Peace.

IT has often been objected to the Dissenters, by those who, with intent to widen our Breaches, are fond of blackening them as a Party, That they are Enemies Enemies of Government; That their Principles are incompatible with Monarchy; and that they are therefore dangerous both to the Church and State, that they must be continually Plotting against, because naturally discontented with the present Establishment; That they hate the Queen because she loves the Church, and the like:

From hence the furious Authors have drawn such Confequences, as, were the Assertions true, would be natural enough; That the Church ought to provide against them as a dangerous Brood hatch'd under her Wing, that will lose no Opportunity to destroy her; That they ought to be so far from being admitted into the Administration, that they ought not to be trusted with the Priviledge of Freeholders, or to Vote for those that are,

and the like. New Affociation, Page 1.

pla

m.

ay, ra's

to

But if after all that can be said on this Subject, it will appear that the true interest of the Dissenters, is bound up in the Prosperity of the present Establishment; that their Safety depends upon the Protection of the Government; and that they cannot be guilty of endeavouring the Subversion of Monarchy, without striking at the Door of their own Prosperity, and bringing themselves into all the Consusions and Distresses they can wish to be delivered from; then the Arguments must cease of Course, the Consequences must be absurd, because the Causes are Untrue; the Dissenters must first be arraigned for Fools, before they can be indicted for Rebels; and ought so be sent to Bedlam, and not to Newgate.

Mankind at least, such as are in their Wits, are properly said not to be capable of doing what they cannot do rationally; what they cannot do without Prejudices to their own Interest they cannot do; that is, they cannot do it without being forsaken of their Senses, their

common Understanding and their Honesty.

In order to come to a State of my Proposition, I must premise, that when I speak of the Dissenters,

I mean the General Body of all Sorts of Protestants who separate in Worship from the establish'd Church; and when I speak of the Church of England, I mean the General Body of Orthodox Conformists; and I take no Notice of the Private Designs or Private Tempers of Men, who may broach their own Opinions, or declare Sentiments quite Differing from the Body of their own Party.

Thus, when some hot violent Men have broke the Rules of all Modesty in their Anathema's on the Dissenters, and have doom'd them to a worse Fate than the French Hugonots, it cannot be agreeable to the Justice of Argument, to brand the Church of England with any Part of their Principles, unless they had approv'd them by some Publick Act of the Church, or merited a Claim

to the Charge by a General Practife.

And thus, tho' there may be some People among the many several Sects of Dissenters, who may possess something of Antimonarchial Principles, and may retain the Spirit of Rebellion, the General Body of the Dissenters ought not to be branded with the black Mark of Rebels, Enemies to the Government, and dangerous to the Nation, unless they had committed some Crime as a Body which should merit such a Character.

And as on the one Hand, I am fully perswaded, that the Dissenters of this Nation, taking them in general, except as before excepted, are not desirous of any Change of Government; so I think 'tis easie to make it out, that while they are Masters of their Wits, and have their Eyes open to their true Interest, they can never desire to have any Part of the Government alter'd, chang'd, or otherwise settled than it is.

If any Dissenter be of another Mind, or if any Man, to sully their Character, will suppose it of them, I would be glad to see it made out what fort of Settlement, suppose it were in their Power, could they make, which

would be more to their Advantage.

To come to make the Paralel, 'tis necessary to observe a State of the Dissenters Circumstances under the present Government.

First, They enjoy all their Civil Rights, their Liberty and Property stands upon the same Foot with their Church of England Conforming Neighbours; in Matters of Right or Wrong, 'tis not examin'd whether they are Dissenters or no, but if they are English Men; 'tis not requir'd of them to concern their spiritual Capasities, with their Temporal; their Estates are their own, and their Possession of them secur'd by the same Laws, their Inheritances descend by uninterrupted Succession to their Posterity.

Secondly, Their Religious Liberty is tolerated by a Law, and no Conformity is exacted of them; they are invited to Church, but not driven; Excommunications, Confications, &c. for not coming to Church, are all taken of, the Talons of the Ecclesiastical Harpyes at Dollors Commons are Cut, and those Birds of Prey have

their Wings pinion'd by the Law.

Thirdly, This Liberty is Universal to all Sorts, Kinds, and separate Societies of Dissenters, from the Quaker to the Jacobite Conformist; the Spirit of Persecution is laid, and has lest off haunting us in this Nation; every Man serves GOD his own Way, and there is no Restraint in Matters of Religion or Policy, only that in the latter, to preserve the Government in the Hands of the Churches Friends; all Persons who have any Share in the Administration are obliged to conform; and this is by Act of Parliament, that is, to say, it is an Act of all the People; consented to by them all in their Representatives, and therefore is what we ought to submit to with Chearfulness.

I know some object the Reasonableness of such a Law as makes religious Ordinances the Test of Capacity for Civil Employments, and much has been said on that Point, that the Law was made to please one Party, and on purpose to oppress another Party, and the like.

(452)

If the Dispute were between Christians and Pagans, or Christians and Jews, it might have some Reason in it, and none would be sit to be trusted with a Branch of the Government, who were in principle, mortal profess'd Enemies to it, on Account of Religion, and in such Case a religious Conformity would be a proper Test of the Party.

But waving these Arguments, we are not to consider what, in right Reasoning, we think ought to be a Law; but what actually is a Law enacted by the Legislator of the Nation, and to which, as Freeholders, we have given a tacit Consent, and therefore bound our selves either to

that Observation or the Penalty.

Besides, What is the publick Possession of Places, or Offices of Trust, in a Government, to the Case of Religion? They who separate from the Communion of a Church, cannot in Reason, expect to be entertain'd in the Service of that very Church; and they that separate from the Church, ought to consider Places and Offices beforehand, and to examine, whether they can forego them for their Consciences or not; and if they did so, they would not be so frequently foregoing their Consciences to possess them again.

And I cannot but wonder at, and condemn the Injustice of such Dissenters who would have those People, to whose Communion they cannot, or will not joyn, receive them into equal Advantages of Honour and of Profit, of Trust and Management, in the Politick

Concern.

I cannot approve the Equity of it, nor I wou'd not have the Dissenters covet it, nor, had they the Government in their Hands, would they admit it themselves.

This Coveting Offices of Trust, Honour and Profit in the Government, has been the Cause of that Occasional Compliance, which to the Dishonour and Shame of the Dissenters, has branded them with too much Levity and Religion.

But

But in all Professons, and in all Ages, from the Young Man in the Gospel, whose Temptation was, that he had great Possessions, Covetousness and Ambition have been Snares to Religion; but neither does this Loosness of Principle lie as a Just Charge upon the whole Body of the Dissenters; nor shou'd they bear the Error as a Brand upon the General Character, any more than the Church of England ought to be branded, with that General Odium of Cruelty, and barbarous destructive principles against their Dissenting Neighbours, because some of their Ministers from the Pulpit, have thundred out this Fiery Doctrine to their Hearers.

And therefore, in equal Justice to both Sides, I think tis Just to agree, that neither party ought to be denominated from the Hot destructive Latitude of a Few, but from the general Practice, and known Principle of

the Body, and Generality on both Sides.

That the Church of England, as a Church guided by their Genuine Temper, as Christians and English Men, and govern'd by their known Principles, and the Canon of their Constitution have nothing so Antichristian among them, as can leave room to suggest, they would be the Destroyers of their Brethren, and set up Fire and Faggot among us, is plain from various Circumstances of Time and Action. The Revolution, the Act of Toleration, and their present Resentment of this Temper lately presented to them, Unmasq'd, are Modern Testimonies of it.

That the Dissenters, in general, are fully satisfy'd with the Circumstances of their present Settlement, and the Toleration they enjoy, and no otherwise uneasie, than as they have industriously been made to apprehend the Privileges and Toleration they enjoy are aim'd at, and endeavour'd to be lessen'd or overthrown, is manifest:

First, Because all the late Reign, while their Toleraion and Privileges were secure, they were entirely Eaie, fully pleas'd, and had nothing to wish, more than they they enjoy'd: And, Secondly, That under all the Une finess they have in this Reign express'd, the renew'd Assurances of the Continuance of their Toleration from the Royal Promises of the Queen, have been as Life to them from the Dead, and at all times revives their Satisfaction, after it has receiv'd any Shock from the Vio.

lence and Threatnings of a Party.

What, tho' among the Church of England, or a mong the Dissenters, there are Incendiaries, some on one side, who till they knew it was wrote by a Dissenter, hugg'd the Book'd, call'd, The shortest Way, like an Oracle, and a new Invention that deserv'd a Patent for the Practise; some that have Preach'd the same Thing, Printed the same Thing, and declar'd it to keet the best and properest way in the World, to settle the Peace of the Nation, as well as the Peace of the Church; some on the one side, who are angry at being disposed fess'd of their Hopes of good Places, and can dispense with Sacraments, Oc. on Occasion, to enrich therselves.

Both Sides, if they would study the Nations Peace, the Queens Honour, and the Prosperity of our Commerce would industriously crush and discourage the Extreams on either Side, and in the Middle might be found, that blessed Path of Peace and Union, which would lead the whole Body of the English Nation, to the full Enjoyment of that universal Charity and Love that every honest Man wishes for.

Here would be no Encroaching on one another, no Jealousie of Parties; the Dissenters would have no Reason to seek Places, to keep such out as would endeavour to Ruine them; nor they could no more Grudge the Profits and Advancements of Secular Irusto the Members of the Church, because they would be satisfy'd; they wou'd not missaply their Power to the Injury of their Dissenting Brethren; and the Church Men, when they saw the Dissenters cease in Encroach

Encroach upon them, would have no room for any uncharitable Suggestions, nor any Ground to Charge them with seditions Practices or Designs to overwhelm the Government, subdue Monarchy, or erect Confusion and intolerable Anarchy.

In order to this happy Regularity, I proceed to state my Proposition, that tis the True Interest of the Diffenters in England, to be govern'd by a Church of Eng-

land Magistracy.

And as I pretend, in what I write, to as much Impartiality as I can, fo I am not at all careful of displeasing

Parties, if I do it in a direct pursuit of Truth.

And therefore while I first turn upon my Friends the Diffenters, tho' they may be angry with me, I cannot help aying down this as the first Reason of my Proposition: viz. That they are not qualified to be trusted with the Government of themselves.

Nor do I go back to the years of Forty one, about which such a pothet has been made, as if all the present Diffenters had been in Arms against their King, tho' of one in Five hundred of them was then Born; or as they had all a hand in the death of King Charles the liff; or at least, with St. Paul, in the Case of St. Steben, had been confenting to his Death: But as a quarel, which was ended before I was born, I have nohing to do with it; Let those people accuse the Disseners of that, who have undertaken to justify the Church f England in a Case something like it, as the late Reolution.

I think the Fable of the Countrymen, who made their ddress to Jupiter for good Weather for their Harvest, something an Emblem of what I mean; they who welt in the Plains and moist Ground desir'd fair Weaher, and they who dwelt on the Hiffs defir'd Rain, upn which the Deity order'd them to go together and onfult of it, and when they could agree what Weather ask for that would please them all, they should come

gain.

Now, if on the late, or any Revolution, it had been proposed to the Dissenters to have the Government of this Nation, I mean the Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Authority settled in their Hands, and in order to such a Settlement they were all met together, to consider of it, I would be glad to be inform'd in what manner they could possibly have agreed about it: 'Tis not my present Enquiry what manner of Government they would have agreed upon, I have elsewhere sufficiently prov'd, that the Constitution, Interest, and Genius of the whole Nation would lead them to a Monarchy, and to the same individual Monarchy now settled; but my Question is, In what manner they would agree in the settling this very Monarchy?

The General body of the Dissenters are composed of Four forts, and those Four so opposite in their Temper, Customs, Doctrine and Discipline, that I am of opinion 'tis as probable all Four should Conform to the Church

of England, as to one another.

There is the Presbyterian, Independant, Anabaptifand Quaker; now, if these Four were met like a Polish Diet on Horseback to choose a King, he mult be a great deal wifer than I that can but guess out of which Party all the other Three could consent to Name a King; or by which Party all the other Three could consent to be Govern'd; for that would be the English of it.

The Independent could never bear Presbyterian Government, that has been tryed already; for they once pull'd

it down by the Ears as intollerable.

The Anabaptists in general, declare the Presbyterion would set up Persecution from the old Principle, That Presbyteries are Jure Divino, and therefore to them, a Presbyterian Government would be all one with Popery.

The Presbyterian would never brook an Independent or Anabaptist Government, because they count the one Sectary, and hardly admit the other to be Orthodox Christians.

None of the Three would bear the thought of a Quaker King, the Novelty would make Mankind Laugh at the Proposal, the Splendor and Magnificence of a Court, and the necessary Defence and Offence which the Confederacies and Interests of Nations require, are things so inconsistent with this plain dealing Professor, that he must cease to be a Quaker when he began to be a King; and they would then be much in doubt what Religion, and consequently what Party he would choose; and therefore none of the Parties would agree to him.

So that the whole Body might, like the Countreymen, Go home and confider of it, and come to the Assembly again when they were agreed upon the Point.

And if the Crown of this Kingdom does but remain in a Succession of Church of England Monarchs, till these Four can agree which of them shall Reign, the Benediction of the Scotch Parson to King James the First may be fulfil'd, That they shall Reign as long as the Sun and Moon endure.

In the next place were the Government fix'd in any one of these Parties, without the Concurrence of the rest, it does not appear to me that any single Party would be strong enough to maintain themselves; for those who did not freely confent to, would not willingly assist the Government; and every little dissattion of Parties would shock the Constitution. Revolutions would be as frequent as Insurrections; and Mobbing our Governors, be as familiar as a Street Riot; consequently Property would be never secur'd, nor Families preserv'd; for 'tis very rarely seen in Governments that Crowns shift sides, but the Patrons of the last Government fink under the Oppressions of the present; the Favourites of one side, rise upon the ruins of the last; and the next turn wheels them under the Stage, and H h 2

fets up others; and so on to the General Revolution of

all things.

'Tis true, there is a thing call'd the People, the Multitude, the Rabble, or in a more Modern term, the Mob; these, like a great Rast of Timber in a River which receives the Tides from the Sea, are ever a Float, and drive this way or that, as they are hurried on by the General Current; 'tis true also that their Force is irressstibly Violent, and nothing can withstand them; but still, like the Rast of Timber, when the force of the Tide is spent, and the Stream turns, they are as certain to Drive back again with the same Violence of Motion as ever they were to move at all; so that there is no more advantage from this Crowd to one Party than there is to another: The same Mob will Huzza a King to his Throne, and Halloo him out of the Nation.

The strength therefore of any Party in this Nation consists in the power of its real Interest; for let the best King that ever Reign'd in England, be invaded by the worst, if he beat him in the Field but one Battle, he is

gone, the Nation is all his own.

This is too plain from History; William the Conqueror fought but one Battle for the whole Nation; and I know not one Instance in all our History, of any Prince that fought two, except King John. Maud the Empress Invaded King Stephen, and in one Battle the whole Quarrel run over to her. In the Case of Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fourth, one single Battle, at a time, shifted the Crown of England Five or Six times; the like in the Case of Henry the Seventh. In the Duke of Monmouth's Case, one Fight ended the Dispute: And in our late Revolution, no Fight at all, but the appearance of an Army, gain'd the General Concurrence of the People.

In Case therefore of the Government being to be tendred to the Dissenters, they would never agree among themselves who should have it; and if any one Party

Party obtain'd it without the consent of the other, he would never be able to hold it; and the Nation would be exposed to inevitable Confusions and Distra-

ctions.

Possibly the Dissenters may take it ill, if I should fay they are not qualified with a Governing Temper; and fince they are not like to be tryed, tis needless to enquire whether they are or no; but I am apt to think the most fenfible Men among them will acknowledge it, thefe Brethren would fall out by the Way; they want some qualifications which are very necessary to Government, as Charity, Patience, but particularly Penetration and Generofity.

I allow this may be from the Accidents of their Circumstances, and the Paucity of their Numbers; the Men of Conscience being, by the Scripture Direction, not to be look'd for among the Wife or Noble, that is, not a-

mong the Politicians nor the Gentry.

But God Almighty can qualifie, says a Dissenter now, and give a Spirit of Government where he pleases to give

a Call to Governing.

I confess that freely, and therefore it seems to me very plain, that where he has not bestow'd the Spirit of Government, he has not defign'd to entrust the Power of it; and therefore I would advite the Diffenters in England not to concern themselves about it, at least while they are not ill Treated, Oppress'd or Persecuted by those who have the Power of Governing.

Upon these Considerations, and more I could name, if I thought these were not sufficient, I verily believe, that were the Four forts of People which I have nam'd as constituting the Body of the Dissenters, enquir'd of separately, they would all Vote the Government into the hands of the Church of England. What would the Anabaptist say, if 'twere enquir'd of them by themselves, Who will you have to be your King, a Presbyterian or a Church of England Man? They would

Hh 3

would most certainly answer, if their General Answers in like Cases may be regarded, the Church of England: For under them we shall have a Toleration; but th' other will Persecute us in particular from all the rest of the Dissenters, and from the old Principle of Jure Divino, will say of all that are not of their own Opinion, Compell them to come in.

What will the Presbyterian say, if the Church or Independent were proposed? They'd all cry out the Church of England: For these Independents will be for Levelling us all to their own narrow Principles, till we shall have no Government left at all, and at last no Property, but run all into Fifth Monarchy Men, and make us sell our Estates for the use of the Saints.

If the Anabaptists and the Church were in Competition, they'd Cry out again, give us the Church of England Government, for these have no Government at all; we know not what to say of them, and hardly know whether some of them are Christians or no.

As to the Quakers; neither would they brook any of the Three, nor any of the Three them; so that natural Consequences, the Reason of the Thing, the Temper of the seperate Parties, and in general, the Interest of the whole, would make all the Dissenters Unanimous, in desiring to be govern'd by the Church of England Magistracy.

I can yet see no tolerable Objection against this Doctrine; and I do not think it betters an Argument at all, to form trisling Objections, on purpose to answer them.

But if this Doctrine be true, then some Consequences are to be drawn from! it, which would, if well improv'd, lay the Foundation of an intire Peace, a firm Union and Considence between the most opposite Parties in this Nation; so that speaking of publick Interest, there should never be any Contention, any Strife, Jealousies, or Animosities more; the Government

ment should for ever esteem the Dissenter, tho' differring in Opinion, yet as Loyal and Affectionate to their
Interest as any of the rest of its Subjects, since having
devolv'd all their Thoughts into this one Resolution,
That 'tis best for the Nation, and best for their Interest, that the Church of England party should be
the governing, ruling Party, and be intrusted with the
Civil Power; they could not imagine any Danger
from them, because no People ever willingly Act
against their own Interest as such; and the Dissenters not knowing where better to fix the Government, than where it is, could never be so betwitch'd
or forsaken of their Reason, to endeavour to alter
it.

On the other Hand, the Dissenters having no Desire to alter, could have no Advantage to disturb the Government, and consequently could have no Reason to struggle to wind themselves into any Part of the Magistracy, especially being fully satisfy'd, that it was already in the best Hands it could be for the Benefit of the Whole.

All these little Dissatisfactions, and Strife of Parties for Elections, would die as Effects, the Original Strife about the Center of the Government, being once remov'd as the Cause.

Occasional Conformity would be casual and indifferent, neither worth one Parties straining their Principles to comply with, nor the other Parties their Wits to explode; their would be no need of it on one Hand, nor it would be of no ill Consequence on the other.

The General Consequences I draw from what I have alledg'd, are such as these.

First, Those warm Gentlemen of the Church of England, who think they do GOD good Service in railing at the Dissenters, as Subverters of the Church and of the Monarchy, and show their Wits in first painting the Robe of Rebellion in all its bloody Co-

Hh 4

lours

lours, and then dressing up the Dissenter in it, as if the Coat fitted none but him, are very much to blame; my Charity disposes me to hope they are unwillingly so; but certainly they are essectually and eventually Enemies to the Peace of the Church, and the Prosperity of the Crown; all the Aversion of Parties is owing to them; all the ill Blood which is to be found among the Dissenters, is owing to the Menaces of these furious People, who in print and in pulpit, Entitle the whole Church and Government to the Extasses of their passions, and speak in the plural Number, as if they were then commanded to Curse Facob.

These were the proper Authors of the Shortest Way, tho' some Body else may suffer for it; and these Gentlemen, with humble Submission to the Government, unless of their own accord they Dissit, will, whenever our Rulers see their own Interest, be ordered to

do it.

'Tis farther manifest, that this way of treating the Dissenters can have no present Signification, for the Government, and Her Majesty in particular, having sufficiently testify'd their Abhorrance of destroying, hanging, or banishing all the Dissenters; To what purpose then can be the Treating them with so much indecent Contempt, and keeping them in constant Alarms from the perpetual menaces of the Pulpit? No indignation of the Clergy, or any Body else can hurt them, while Her Majesty thinks Her Self oblig'd to promise them Liberty and Protection.

Besides, it seems indecent, that when the Crown indulges them, the Pulpit shou'd threaten them; that the Clergy should persecute them from the Press, when the Government tolerates them from the Law; this Way of these Gentlemen treating the Dissenters, can have no Signification but what looks disloyal and disrespectful to the Queen, and manifestly turns to their own Disadvantage, as to Character, and to the Disadvantage of

the

the Government, whose undoubted interest it is, to have a free and intire Love, and uninterrupted Considence in all its Subjects.

Secondly, If this Doctrine be true, then the Dissenters have been Ill manag'd, and it is in the Power of the Government to make them all Zealous, Hearty and Loyal to the present Establishment, in every Part of it, to make the Dissenters easie, and themselves easie with them; and the Governing Power, yet remain, not only by a Right, but by a voluntarily, true Concession of Parties; That the Dissenters shall not only obey the present Authority, but choose it, love it, and believe it to be the best, and the best for them; and that if it were dissolved to Morrow, would be the first Men in the Nation to restore it to the very single, undivided posture it now flourishes in, and to maintain it there.

The Queen would be serv'd with an undivided Loyalty, without concerning themselves who shall come next; all Parties will earnestly pray, that Her Majesty may continue long, and the Glory she will obtain by bringing about so happy, so unexpected a Union of divided Parties, shall be greater in Ages yet to come, than all the Conquests of Her Armies, or the Success of this doubtful War.

If any shou'd be so weak, as to say Her Majesty does not desire any such Union, tho' the Notion is too absurb to merit any Remark, yet it leads me to take Notice, that really, whatever Her Majesty desires, there are some People who certainly do not desire it.

There can be no Body in the Nation but must desire this Union, but such as are for The Shortest Way. 'Tis manifest, the Government understands the General Interest of the Nation too well, not to desire such a Union: 'Tis plain, Her Majesty has express'd by Her Reference.

sentment at the Suggestion of any thing Cruel to any of Her Subjects; and Her often expressing the Royal Tenderness for all her Subjects, puts it out of doubt, She would be glad to see them all in the same Path to Heaven with Her self; but while she cannot Hope for that, She cannot but desire to see them shaking Hands, and united in !Hearts in the Journey, tho' the Steps they take are in different parallels.

And Her Majesty cannot but be pleased to see that all Her Subjects, of whatsoever Opinion in Matters of Religion, should joyn in a more than ordinary Zeal and Affection for both Her Person and Government.

Another Inference from the Premises, is this; Those Dissenters who covet Places and Preferment in the Government, and encrease the Scandal of the Principles, on Account of Occasional Conformity for that End, are also to blame, especially at such a time as this.

If it be the True Interest of the Dissenters to be under the Government of the Church of England Magistracy, let those to whom Places, Salaries, and Honours are of more than common Necessity, and that can conform to qualifie themselves for them, continue in the Church; and so not only help to promote the Government they espouse, but also carry on the Interest of Peace, General Charity, Loyalty, and Affection to the Queen, and to the Subject of every side.

The Dissenters, as Dissenters, can have no Reason to covet Places; the Pretence of keeping out Men that would disserve the Publick would be over; for where there is but one undivided Interest in Government, there can be no subsistance for Factions and Parties.

What then can a Dissenter, as a Dissenter, covet a publick Employment for! 'Tis plain, 'tis his Interest

e Church Party should have the Government, and at if 'twas in his Hands, or offer'd to him, he could tell what to do with it, but would Petition the nurch Party to take it again; he can have nothing to k, but to be fure of his Liberty and Property, his To-

ration and Estate.

In order to this, being effectually fecur'd, there wants othing, but that the Church Party be fully satisfy'd at he never can encroach on the Government, alter disturb it, which without damage to his own Intertinus to must be impossible; and the Church-Man being sur'd of this, can have no manner of Ground to wish the Toleration repeal'd, or the Property of the Disturbed weaken'd, because he is a willing Subject, and always will be a Friend to the Government, om the irrefragable Reasons of his own Safety and Interest.

After this mutual Confidence settl'd, a Dissenter can ever desire a Place in the Government, but for the rosit or Honour; and if he cannot dispense with himls about that, he must bring his Conscience and the allary, or his Conscience and the Title together, and them make the Bargain as well as they can, the State

no way concern'd in it.

I see no difficulty remains, but how to procure this utual Confidence of Parties, which tho' it be remote, far from impossible; but I am in so fair a Way to be un'd, for Describing the Shortest Way to undo us, that shall be very wary how I prescribe more Short Ways, ithout the Direction of my Superiors; and that Conurring, I doubt not it might easily be brought to as,

But Two immediate Circumstances would contribute great deal towards it, and both these I have often riven at; and while any thing I shall write, will be ead, shall continue to aim at it, and this is a Comnunion of Charity and Civility between the Parties; his would make Way for a right Understanding; and tho

tho' there are differences in Religion, there need none in Affection, in Society, in Neighbourhood; Paple may be good Neighbours, good Friends, and unit in Interest, tho' one goes to the Church, and 'tothern the Meeting-House; let the Strife be who lives Be and the Contention of the Clergy who shall Preach Be and by this make as many Parties and Factions as the please; let them Preach one anothers Hearers and Increase and Decrease according to the Genum Honest Lives and Doctrines of the Party, then the be Church will be the biggest Church; they who Pres Best, and Practice Best, will have the most of the side; and that Church which has the most of its side will soon have the upper Hand, for Number always provails.

Nay, it seems a Reslection on both sides in my on mion, that here should be such striving, such pushing Power, and making Interest by Parties about Religion let them leave Religion to Her own Methods: It Coffee-House and the Clubs need not be concern'd about Her, let which side soever have the Choice of Sheriff, Mayors and Parliament Men; if it must be Religion that is in Dispute, let the Dispute be managed as religious One, and no otherwise; let the Lives and Doctrines of the Parties alone to Fight it out; they who have the best Principles, and live best up them, will certainly get the better of it at late and if Governments and Interest of Parties should be the Neuter, it would quickly appear who are the People.

But to touch a little the Particulars; If this Union of Interest be ever attempted, there must be first a Union

on of Charity.

First, The Dissenters, in whose Name I have pretended to say, that they are willing to live peaceable and quietly under the establish'd Government, should Evidence it by Practice; they who, among the Dissenters, are disturb'd at the Profits and Trust of the Government. vernment being taken from them and given to the nrchmen, are to blame, are obstructors of their neral Peace, if not Enemies to it; for as Dissenters, st, 'Tis not a Farthing Advantage to your General erest, if it be your Interest the Church Party should the Government; and if you would all Vote for a nrch of England Magistracy if it were in your Choice, no shou'd have the Places and Profits of the Government, but those to whom you commit the Government.' To desire it otherwise would be unreasonated but the main Case lies here, you would not be sluded, as unquallify'd and dangerous People. Without Offence, let me say one Thing; this products from the Jealousies infus'd in the Church Party, they you covet all, and that you would throw them of the Saddle, to set your selves in; and this

t you covet all, and that you would throw them of the Saddle, to fet your selves in; and this ouse proceeds from the eagerness to get into Pland the Dissatisfaction you express for being shut

Convince them that 'tis a Mistake, as indeed it must f you are in your Senses; and let them know, by the cas, that they are in the Wrong, and you will then er be excluded from Places as dangerous People, but, ime, be admitted equally with all the Loyal Subjects he Nation.

know no reason a Dissenter has to desire any tern in the Government but the Gain of it; for if it is, his Power to remove the Government, would place it just where it is, he can have no go to do it any Injury; if then the Profits of Places Trust be the Case, my Advice to the Dissenters, convince the Church Men by a general Quietness, Unanimous Concurrence with the Government, however they are divided in Principles, they one Body of English Men, under that very Goment both of them like, and which both of them lid, if it were dissolved, voluntarily choose to Erect

again; that they have but one Interest, one End, one Design, and can never be separated without an Injury to both; have one Crown, one Parliament, and are but one People, and never desire to be otherwise; and if both sides came to a satisfaction of this Point, there would be no more excluding of Parties for Religion; Tests, Sacraments, and occasional Conformities, which are now the Scandal of both sides, would satisfaction of themselves, the Causes of them would die, and the Effects could not survive; 'twould be every Man's Interest to support what was every Man's Choice to set up; every Man would desire to maintain that Government which every Man would endeavour to restore; and he that injur'd it, would equally be abhor'd by al sides.

But all the Work does not lie on the Dissenters side neither; and since I have once anger'd both sides, by speaking under a disguise, I can but run the same sat in speaking plainly.

The Church of England Men must put their Handw

this Work, or it will never be brought to pass.

Some have started an unkind Objection in the World, That there is no real defire in the Church Party ever to come to an Accomodation with the Difference.

This may be true of some People in the Church, but it cannot be true of the General Body of the English Church, of whom, as I before made a provisional Caution, I am Treating; nor can it be true of any that call themselves Church Men, unless one of those two Cases are in it: First, That they are only Incendiaries and Disturbers of the Nation, who act under the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession, but are really Entended in the Mask of the Church Profession in the Mask of the Church Profession in the Mask of the Church Profession in the Chur

We have had it Printed, with an Assurance have wondred at, That the moderate Members of the

Church of England, call'd Low Church Men, are worse than the Dissenters; are Fanaticks in Masquerade; and possibly such Men as are of that Opinion, would be as much disturbed if all the Dissenters should conform, as fall the Moderate Church Men should turn Dissenters; because then their own Principles would be exploded mmediately by all good Men, and their Persons mark'd as the General Incendiaries of the Nation; all the Sin of Politick Schism would plainly lie at their Doors; and not only so, but the moderate Gentlemen of the Church of England, are the Men of Temper, and of Charity, Men of Liberty, of Candor, and of Principles, and this makes them averse to Oppression and Persecution.

The Church of England is particularly demominated from these Men; I call all that Part of the hurch, moderate Men, who are true Genuine Conormists to the Church, in Doctrine and Discipline, ut neither bigotted to their Opinions, nor tainted with yranny and Oppression, who are of the Church, beause they think it's the truest Way of Worship; who peaking of Religion, are Protestants, and good Chrisians; speaking of Politicks, are Loyal Subjects to the Crown, but withal, are English Men, and fill'd with harity to those who differ from them, cautious of English Liberty, and forward not to oppress their Neighbours.

Nay, even Men of higher and straighter Principles, ho think hard of those who Dissent from them, yet are of for oppressing them, and to make Pretences where tey cannot find them, to ruine Families for Opinion in eligion.

If the Church has the Government, and the dissenters are pleas'd with its being so, what have bey to desire? If they have all the Profits of it, and the Dissenters, with Considence, commit them-lyes to their Protection, what can they ask more?

d

What

What other Reason can those Gentlemen, who are so hot against the Dissenters, give, why they shou'd be oppress'd, but their Fear of them as a Party? This fear is thus prov'd to be absurd and groundless, and there

fore I think the Consequence is plain.

Those People who drive at the suppressing the Dissenters, cannot be Friends to the Church, nor to the Government; 'tis true, it would be better for the Church there was no Schism, no Breach on Account of Opinion; but since there is, and they cannot pretend to bring all the Dissenters back again, unless they will set up the Shortest Way, it cannot agree with Policy, or publish

Interest, to make them uneasie.

If they won't Conform to the Church, 'tis impossible to make them; but if they will Conform to the Government, if they are not Dissenters in Politicks, if they Affent and Consent in publick Matters, if they acquies with a Church of England Government, and if it were in their Power would chuse it from all others, as is Ithis fairly prov'd, then it cannot be the Interest of the Government to disturb them; and they who would crust them, expose them, or widen the Breach between the and the Church, cannot be Friends to the Church, or with Government, and ought to be treated accordingly.

ler of higher and freighter Principles

FINIS.

